Daily Report

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Vienna Arms Talks Said To 'Move Forward'

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[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna November 14 TASS—Things move forward at the current round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. This was pointed out at a full-delegation session of the forum of 22 NATO and East European countries here today.

This applies primarily to the central aspect of the talks—the deliberation of an agreement on personnel cuts in the forces of the negotiating countries.

The need for practical work to draw up and edit a text of the document in question is moving into the order of the day. A number of delegations have already presented their visions of individual elements of the agreement and speakers at the session voiced an idea about the need to decide on the agreement's structure soon.

The character of the future accord remains undecided upon. The point is whether the document will be politically or legally binding. A number of delegations, including the Soviet one, favour the adoption of a politically binding agreement. The Soviet delegation, hovewer, adheres to a flexible approach and is prepared to consider other options as well.

Judging by everything, headway is also beginning as regards another aspect of the talks—the coordination of stabilising measures. Western partners have stated their intention to make practical proposals on that score and presented preliminary considerations about categories of stabilising measures. It will be possible to judge the merits of such measures only when their substance becomes known.

Missile System Dropped Without Consultation

PM1411154891 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition pp 3-4

["Military Observer's Notes" article by Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev: "How the Americans Drained the Oka Dry: Are We in Danger, a Reader Asks, of Being Made Fools of?"]

[Text]**In Secret From Our Own People**

Yes, we are talking about how a modern operational-tactical system—Oka [also name of a river]—was destroyed, poured down the drain, just like that. But first, something else....

A month ago a photograph, showing members of the last crew on operational readiness at the Air Force base at Carswell (Texas) talking in the shade of their B-52 bomber after receiving the order to stay on the ground, went the rounds of the world's newspapers, provoking a torrent of emotion. This happened after U.S. President G. Bush's television address to the nation, in which he set forth large-scale proposals in the sphere of nuclear arms reduction. Defense Secretary R. Cheney immediately gave the order to lift the 24-hour alert status for the crews of 40 nuclear bombers. An answering move by the Soviet Union followed. And more emotion.

Emotion is all very well, but in the United States the new initiatives were carefully evaluated—by the legislators in Congress, and by experts in the mass media. They discussed everything, down to the last little screw that became subject to cuts. Nobody evaluated the Soviet counterproposals.

Not a word from high-ranking officials at the Defense Ministry and Foreign Ministry. Competent specialists prefer to remain silent. Yet basically what is at stake is the fate of billions of rubles of public money that was invested in the armaments that are subject to cuts.

M.S. Gorbachev spoke openly of the aims of the Soviet initiatives: We are moving toward a nuclear-free world, a more secure and stable world. Every sensible person will support the Soviet leader's summary. The logic of the times has led us to the disarmament process; this is the path to mankind's survival. All the same, people want to know: How far do the Soviet initiatives correspond to the American ones, how far do they meet the interests of our security? Boris Pankin, leader of our foreign policy department, has stated publicly that the president's initiative was launched after a major expert study and expresses in concentrated form the aggregate interests of the republics.

Well, fine, if there was a major study. But surely its results should be made known to the people, whose money was used to build the missiles, submarines, ammunition? But as yet.... As yet there is bewilderment and numerous questions. Here are a few lines from some letters to the editor:

"The arms that are being cut are worth millions, maybe billions, of rubles, our rubles. So why will they not tell us specifically what is being destroyed out of our defensive shield, and why it is being destroyed? Or is it a big secret? Are we in danger of being made fools of?"

"The Americans know everything or nearly everything about our missiles, but what Soviet citizens know isn't worth a cent. So does this mean that we are keeping secrets not from the military men across the ocean, but from our own people?"

There are a good many similar comments in the editorial mailbag. The readers' somewhat agitated tone is understandable. People want to know about their own defense arsenal—how much it costs them, how efficiently it is used (of course, it is not a question of revealing real secrets). People's concern, in my view, is also justified for the following reason. Many of the steps being taken in

the sphere of the country's defense are incomprehensible to our own compatriots, including those in uniform.

Marshal S. Akhromeyev's Chivalrous Gesture

It is well known that May of this year saw the completion of the destruction of Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, with a radius of 500 to 5,500 km. Let me emphasize, 500 km and over. What does this have to do with it? Not one of the Ground Forces missile men whom I have spoken with can understand how the Oka operational-tactical system (NATO serial number SS-23, code name "Spider") came "under the axe." Many Western reference works give its range as 400 km. And so it is.

When people at the directorate of the chief of the Ground Forces Missile Forces and Artillery learned that the question of cutting the Oka had been raised at the Geneva talks, many of them were, so to speak, stunned. Not surprisingly—after all, this system has a range of 400 km. So how did this ill-starred question of the Oka ever come up?

One fine day the then commander in chief of the Ground Forces, Army General Ye. Ivanovskiy, summoned the chief of the Missile Forces and Artillery, Marshal of Artillery V. Mikhalkin, and asked him straight out:

"Vladimir Mikhaylovich, how did it come about that the Oka is being cut?"

Mikhalkin was flabbergasted:

"What do you mean, cut?"

The two men compared notes. No one from the General Staff or the Foreign Ministry had discussed it with them or consulted with them. They talked it over with General M. Penkin, chief of the Defense Ministry Main Missile and Artillery Directorate. He was surprised, too.

Shortly after that, Marshal S. Akhromeyev told Mikhalkin:

"I take 50 percent of the blame myself, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, I should have gotten involved in the talks earlier, but I'm damned if I know how the question of Oka came up, I only found out about it myself from the newspapers."

To Marshal Akhromeyev's credit, he agreed to a proposal to hold trial firings on the testing range in the presence of American experts, so that they could see the system's potential with their own eyes. Soon a group of officers headed by Lieutenant General Yu. Shumilikhin, chief of staff of the Missile Forces and Artillery, and S. Nepobedimyy, chief designer of the system, flew to Kapustin Yar. Initially, they were tasked with carrying out a 500 km launch, without the Americans. But the missile's control system registered "malfunction" when data for a 407 km launch were fed in. An encrypted message was duly dispatched to the General Staff: It is totally impossible to fire the missile a distance of 500 km. Soon Kapustin Yar received the signal: "Stand down"—the Americans are not coming. They have already been told, and told at high level, that the USSR is prepared to destroy Oka. Later the question of Oka's rehabilitation was raised with Marshal D. Yazov when he was head of the Defense Ministry, but the "train" had already built up so much speed that it could not be stopped. And Oka, on which millions of rubles had been spent and which could have formed the basis of the Ground Forces missile subunits for years to come, went "under the axe." It is said that Army General Ye. Ivanovskiy, as a token of protest, refused to sign off on the agreed document on destroying the missiles, and did not go to the General Staff.

Oka is a modern tactical system with a range of 400 km. It became part of the armory in the eighties. More like a toy than a system, the missile men say, automated, autonomous, and what precision—it could hit a kopek piece, as the saying goes. Oka is the fruit of the labor of workers, engineers, and designers at the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant (Udmurtia), where the missile was assembled, and the Petropavlovsk Heavy Machine Building Plant (Kazakhstan), which manufactured the launcher.

It is hard now to establish who was the first to cross the Rubicon, or in this case the Oka, at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva. But there are reports that the members of our delegation started discussing the Oka question because they were using Western catalogs in which the system's range is given as 500-550 km. Nobody consulted the military. First they agreed to include the question of the Oka on the agenda, and then to cut it, for the sake, so to speak, of being accommodating. It is easier that way. As for public money, there is so much of it.... So what happened? Millions of rubles went down the drain, and as far as weapons similar to the Oka are concerned, the Ground Forces were left with the 9K72 operational-tactical system (SS-1S)—the famous Scud—an old missile that could be described as obsolete.

An interesting point. At the time when the last Oka was being blown up at Saryozek and our diplomacy was celebrating victory: You see, for the sake of peace we had to make concessions and compromises, without which "there would be no diplomacy at all"—at that time a report came in that the United States was planning to deploy in Europe a modernized Lance with a range of up to 450 km—a system comparable to the Oka. One cannot help appraising the merits of American diplomacy—239 new Soviet missiles were blown up "just like that," because in no way did they fall within the terms of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, yet they were clever enough to squeeze them in all the same.

How George Bush Killed Three Birds With One Stone

I think this compliance (dilettantism and bungling also cannot be ruled out) may come about because in our country no one is accountable to the people for the steps

taken in the sphere of arms and disarmament, where specially careful consideration is required. That is the way things have become established in our country. Do we know who we have to "thank" for the fact that the USSR had become a great tank power by the late 20th century? Thousands of tanks are in the armory of military units, thousands rusting at storage bases, and thousands have gone "under the axe." No, this is not a criticism of the designers and workers who make them—all honor and praise be to them, the Soviet combat vehicles are competitive both on the market and on the battlefield. I am talking about those whose fault it is that we are cutting them by the thousands.

In the seventies and eighties our Armed Forces were swept by a tank boom, while the Americans were farsightedly investing in aerospace technology and high-precision weapons. Who got the strategy wrong? I am not asking this question out of idle curiosity. It is just that everything repeats itself, again and again.... Let us come back to the Soviet and U.S. presidents' recent initiatives. How well-considered are they, on each side? I conclude that they are well-considered to the extent that they are openly discussed. "We know about the American missiles that are being taken off alert duty in the context of the recent initiatives," writes M. Cherepenya of Lugansk, "but what about the Soviet ones...?"

Anyone who has tried to evaluate the U.S. President's initiatives comes to the conclusion that they are very carefully considered and weighed, both by politicians and by military expects. Bush is, I think, a marksman who has succeeded in killing not two, but three birds with one stone. He has made the world a little bit safer. He has carried through a reduction in arms without the slightest weakening of his own Armed Forces, of which he is commander in chief. And he has given a powerful new boost to the most up-to-date military programs, in particular SDI, and to the building of the B-2 strategic bomber using Stealth technology.

Let us take a closer look at the American proposals. The United States is dismantling and destroying all its land-based tactical nuclear weapons. No doubt we should thank Bush for this—he has thereby taken a step toward a nuclear-free world. But the motives prompting the United States to take such a resolute step do not lie solely in the peaceable intentions of the U.S. leader. There were other reasons, too. What were they?

First, concern about the fate of Soviet stockpiles of tactical nuclear weapons in a disintegrating state. Second, following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, the need to keep U.S. nuclear munitions on Old World territory began to be called into question. And, third, the Persian Gulf war showed that the strike firepower of high-precision weapons (in particular, the J-STARS reconnaissance and strike system) is comparable to strikes by low-yield nuclear weapons. In short, here the United States has gained political capital, without losing anything in the military sphere.

And now to the Soviet side. Military experts, to judge by conversations at the Ground Forces Missile Troops and Artillery headquarters, do not regret parting with the nuclear warheads for the Luna and Tochka tactical missile systems or shells for the 152-mm and 203.2-mm artillery systems. Incidentally, this type of weapon was an American invention. The USSR adopted nuclear shells a few years later. True, having created the technology for manufacturing the munitions, we produced considerably more of them than they did across the ocean. And naturally, we will incur greater costs in destroying them—dismantling them safely is not a simple matter.

As for the question of what the Ground Forces will lose with the destruction of tactical nuclear munitions, you could say—nothing, because no one ever had any intention of using them anyway. At the same time, we have no system comparable to the U.S. J-STARS reconnaissance and strike system. Here it is apposite to come back once again to our discussion of the Oka system. Modernized, it could have become an important element in a strike system with a fairly good range. It could have, but.... The need for such a system is obvious. So that means spending more millions.

The United States gave much publicity to lifting the 24-hour alert status for the crews of nuclear bombers. Here too, of course, the Americans have lost nothing. If the situation changes, different orders can be given. The fact that strategic bombers will take to the air less frequently is a saving, albeit a small one, for the USAF.

Next point. The Americans announced the ending of the development of mobile versions of the Peacekeeper intercontinental missile, or rather, the project to install it on a railroad flatcar. This project had not yet begun to be implemented, so it will cause no losses across the ocean.

About land-based missiles. We know that the Americans are taking 450 Minuteman-2 missiles off alert duty. Following ratification of the treaty, their destruction will be accelerated. What is a Minuteman-2? It is an obsolete and outmoded single-warhead missile. After all, why not destroy a weapon that has become a burden?

By way of an answering step on our side, 503 ICBM's are being taken off alert status, including 134 MIRV'ed ICBM's. It has become known to the editorial office that in the course of Soviet-U.S. consultations 6-7 October concerning the initiatives of the USSR and U.S. presidents, the American side was informed of the specific numbers and types of ICBM's included in the figure of 503. RS-10 (SS-11) and RS-12 (SS-13) missiles are being taken off alert status, as well as missiles that cause grief to the U.S. military—the RS-16 (SS-17), RS-18 (SS-19), and RS-20 (SS-18).

What lies behind this response? It would be nice to hear about this from the people who drew up the proposals for the presidential statement and were then authorized to make commitments to the U.S. side in the course of consultations. People in the Strategic Missile Forces, to

the best of my knowledge, learned about the types and numbers of missiles being taken off alert status only after the Americans had already been told. So why was there once again, as in the case of the Oka, no consultation with the experts? Once again, a crucial document is drawn up "behind closed doors." Yet strategic arms do not belong to a private firm.

And surely questions arise when the following proposals are compared. The USSR is basically abandoning the modernization of all existing ICBM's, while the Americans keep their nuclear triad and accelerate the SDI program. Where is this leading? Whereas formerly SDI was regarded as impracticable, now the outlines of this program make it possible to say that it is capable of creating a "brilliant" umbrella over every Soviet launcher in 10 years. And missiles that have not been modernized will be guaranteed to be destroyed in the initial phase of the flight. So an imbalance arises.

In short, the Soviet initiatives, unlike the American ones, generate a great many questions and require comment from military experts, who, I repeat, have not yet said anything about the initiatives. They must speak out, most of all on the question of how to look after our defense potential properly without retarding the disarmament process. Especially since it is already clear that it is simply beyond our powers to react to the American programs with analogous ones of our own. At the Fifth (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies B. Yeltsin stated that defense appropriations will be reduced. If there is no money for new types of weapons for the future, God himself requires us to look after those we already have carefully and thriftily.

Blame It All on the Minister

What does the author propose? First, in the sphere of arms and disarmament—borrow from China's experience. In China they are pursuing military reforms and reducing the armed forces without any agreements with other states. Anything that works for defense and acts as a deterrent factor is neither reduced nor destroyed. But they are trimming off the "fat" in defense building unilaterally, without making a great fuss about it. Is this practicable? Yes. There is no point in spending billions on programs which any day now some political leader, for who knows what reason, will agree to drop. Incidentally, the implementation of some of the proposals in M. Gorbachev's recent initiative takes into account elements of the Chinese experience. In both the United States and the USSR, having decided to get rid of nuclear shells for land-based tactical weapons, they do not intend to destroy the guns themselves, because guns and howitzers can fire conventional shells, too.

Second, glasnost in the making of crucial decisions should become more effective. We know now specifically who was instructed by G. Bush to study arms reduction questions, who studied these questions, and who presented findings. But who made recommendations to M.S. Gorbachev?

I think more glasnost would make it possible to formulate a more carefully considered position not only on the disarmament question, but—and this is particularly important—in the making of decisions on new defensive programs. A mechanism to prevent the "erosion" of public money is being created, but in a hit-and-miss way, so to speak. There have been attempts to discuss Union budget expenditure on the country's defense in Supreme Soviet committees and commissions. But only attempts. Yet why make things unduly complicated? Why not borrow the experience of states where the question has already been studied? In the United States, parliamentarians know what the expenditure is on every Pentagon program, and they know the nature of every program. Therefore the taxpayers' dollars go on those arms which military experts have demonstrated the need for. What is stopping us doing the same? Fear of revealing military secrets to foreign special services? American intelligence knows very well what programs we are currently implementing. I think there are other reasons. In today's conditions, the Defense Ministry's arms experts and the defense industry people do not want to put themselves to the trouble of enormous analytical work.

And I do not think it is enough to present the programs and expenditure on them to the parliamentarians and representatives of the public. Things must be organized in such a way that every program has someone's name on it. Say there is a plan for building an ultramodern aircraft. The representative bodies should know who, apart from the Air Force leadership, supports it in the General Staff, the Defense Ministry, the Ministry of Defense Industry.... Today it is easy for people to hold responsible posts in our country; the post is responsible (excuse the tautology), but there is no responsibility. If there is a problem, you blame it all on the minister, the ex-minister. And so we blame first Ustinov, then Sokolov, and now we can blame Yazov, too.

These are serious proposals. As for jokes, if I had my way I would issue a decree stating that the generals, the people concerned, must openly say whether they are "for" or "against" when military programs are adopted or dropped. Why this decree? Ask any official to comment on any change in the Armed Forces, and you will hear: Only the minister or the chief of the General Staff can comment on this question. And if the military are silent, the Foreign Ministry takes this as a sign of consent.

But for now.... For now, we are manufacturing arms, and then promptly cutting them, like Oka, for instance. We gain from this in only one way. We gain the reputation of peacemakers in the world.

Joint 'Gobal Defense System' Proposed

924P0026A Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 40, 6 Oct 91 p 12

[Article by Sergey Machulin, laboratory director at the Central Scientific Research Institute of the Ministry of

Defense: "How Can the Soviet and American Military-Industrial Complexes Become Partners?"]

[Text] It is entirely apparent to experts that the United States has no intention of disavowing continuation of its efforts in the Strategic Defense Initiative program. And our response to this program has been the modernization of strategic offensive weapons, planned under a veil of secrecy in the depths of the military-industrial complex. Incidentally, in accordance with the strategic offensive arms reduction treaty, it is relatively inexpensive fixed missile launch sites which are subject to destruction while mobile launchers, whose production and operation costs are many times higher, will be developed. Plans call for the deployment deep underground of new command centers and systems of command, control, and communications. All of this lumped together will take tens of billions of rubles out of our budget, already in bad shape.

What happens now? **The first variant,** no alternative to which was under examination prior to the August events, is continuation of the efforts already under way in modernizing strategic offensive arms. But this leads to destabilization of the situation and a new spiral in the arms race. In essence, GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency] documents proposed precisely such a development of events and included changing the course of USSR foreign policy. **The second variant** is simply to sharply curtail financing of the modernization programs for strategic offensive weapons (by 50 billion just this year, according to R. Khasbulatov). Without a doubt, this could improve the situation somewhat in other sectors of the economy, but will it outweigh the losses, such as millions of unemployed, qualified specialists of the military-industrial complex, the disintegration of collectives with great creative potential, and the destruction of production facilities with relatively high levels of technology? As far as the international aspect is concerned, a deterioration of the strategic potential of our country will hardly facilitate stabilization overall of the global environment.

The third variant. The most painless conversion of the military-industrial complex is possible in the event efforts are undertaken to develop a global system of strategic monitoring and defense under the aegis of the United Nations. We will provisionally call this the GSSMD. The idea, surprising at first glance, of uniting the efforts of until-recently opposing sides, has obvious advantages.

Let us stop for a moment to consider the possible mechanism of such a system. It would be advisable for the GSSMD to be able to monitor the condition of strategic offensive weapons and of the armed forces of states in general. Additionally, it could fulfill functions of antimissile and antispace defense, as well as provide ecological monitoring and notification of emergency situations.

Command and control of the system should be effected with redundancy from several centers located in various states, by shifts international in composition directly subordinate to the United Nations Security Council. The nucleus of the system should be comprised of a global network of communications and computer information centers, which in principle may be used to accomplish any tasks of the United Nations and UNESCO, international economic, law enforcement, or humanitarian structures.

The first two groups of functions should be accomplished based on systems developed within the framework of the SDI program, but with substantially lower expenditures—approximately 10 to 15 times less than the American program. This is due to the fact that, with cooperation between the USSR and United States, there is no longer a need for so much complexity with respect to sophistication of delivery vehicles (decreasing active portion of trajectory, protective coverings, target decoys, etc.). In addition, the integrated efforts of the two superpowers will enable project duplication to be avoided. For example, the USSR may assume basic expenses in the sphere of systems for effecting orbital placement (including with the use of missiles subject to reduction), and the United States—in the sphere of command, control, and communications systems. It should also be taken into account that a substantial share of the expenses could be assumed by states fairly comfortably off which are not members of military blocs and are in primary need of guarantees of their security (the Arab nations, for example).

Questions may arise concerning the fundamental readiness of the two military-industrial complexes for cooperation, but such readiness has already been proven by numerous examples. Moreover, there emerges the fundamental possibility of a conversion of both our military-industrial complex and that of the West, the likes of which will not only avoid encroaching upon their interests, but in practical terms will not affect the nature of activity, assigning it instead to the establishment of a long-term program in the interests of the entire world community.

What will unleashing the proposed program do for our country's economy? First of all, it will enable us in the very near future to sharply (by 70-80 percent) decrease expenditures for financing research projects and arms production, while at the same time providing work for almost all enterprises of the military-industrial complex (GSSMD program financing may be effected mainly through foreign sources, with the USSR share being covered in the initial stages, for example, by provision of launch vehicles, communications and tracking satellites, etc.). This kind of financing, plus the inevitable injection of sophisticated technology, with a relatively slight reorientation of activity, will create ideal conditions for conversion of the military-industrial complex. Those who think that without multi-billion capital investments we can redirect the cumbersome small-scale production of the military-industrial complex to civilian production output in short order are deluding themselves. Second, the development of GSSMD program projects will bring

about the abolishment of restrictions in the import of progressive technologies, cause an influx of investments, and increase the intensity of interaction among specialists, and this will contribute to the enhancement of their qualifications. Additionally, participation of the military-industrial complex in international programs will remove the cover of secrecy which was needed mainly to cover up multi-billion, ineffective expenditures and the incompetent decisions of its leaders. It will enhance the effectiveness of the operation of collectives by breaching the information blockade and will enable organs of authority and the public to exercise control at all levels of the activity of the military-industrial complex.

United States & Canada

Petrovskiy on Global Stability Talks in U.S.

OW1511060291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1632 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 20 and 21, Soviet and American experts will meet in Washington to hold the first ever Soviet-American consultations on global stability. The Soviet delegation will be led by member of the Soviet President's Political Consultative Council, Aleksandr Yakovlev. Among the delegates are also Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR first deputy-foreign minister; Yuriy Ryzhov, a member of the Political Consultative Council; Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Central Intelligence Department; Sergey Stankevich, the USSR president's state adviser and IZVESTIYA's political analyst Aleksandr Bovin.

In an exclusive interview Mr. Petrovskiy told DP that "stability" was not a purely strategic or military term. It has an economic, social, political and national aspects, he said. Generally speaking, it is a complex thing which will play the key role in shaping a new international order, he noted.

The idea of holding such consultations was proposed by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, in October 1990, when he suggested that a Soviet-American working group should be set up to deal with the problems of deterrence, guarantees and stability. "We backed those proposals and are now beginning to discuss various aspects of global stability," said Mr. Petrovskiy.

He also noted that the upcoming talks would be utterly new in character and would concentrate on the most sensitive and delicate aspects of international relations. "The most important thing is," he said, "that we learn to talk sincerely," Mr.Petrovskiy said. "Decisions taken during the consultations may benefit not only the USSR and the U.S., but also the whole of mankind," he added.

China

Official Views Border Talks With PRC

OW1511130391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Nov 91

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] Listeners and friends, the fifth round of the Soviet-Chinese talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces along border areas and on confidence-building began on 12 November in Moscow. Station editor Glebov reports:

The Beijing Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in May of 1989 was the main driving force which brought about the current talks. At that summit meeting, both sides agreed on taking measures to reduce armed forces along border areas. Both sides agreed that the reduction should reflect the normal and good neighborly relations between the two countries. After the summit meeting, Soviet and Chinese diplomats reached an agreement in less than a year on formulating a principle to guide the mutual reduction of armed forces along border areas and to guide matters of confidence-building. Premier Li Peng signed this agreement during his visit to Moscow. He and the Soviet side agreed on the scope of the talks. Beginning last autumn, the talks have been alternatively held in Moscow and Beijing. On the eve of the beginning of the fifth round of talks, (Jeliyev), head of the Soviet delegation and a special envoy from the Soviet Foreign Ministry, offered his views on the progress of the talks.

He said that the talks can be compared to scaling a ladder. We are progressing toward the signing of a general agreement. Both sides will make concrete steps on mutual reduction of armed forces along the border areas on the basis of a general agreement.

The two delegations have reached the stage of item-by-item discussion of the agreement. Apparently, both sides will clarify their respective stands in future talks. The talks have entered a stage where a foundation has been laid for solving issues in a realistic manner. It is very possible that after the item-by-item discussion both sides will agree on the future agreement in Moscow. The future agreement will be a very comprehensive document which will touch on the complex, sensitive, and delicate issues of national security of the Soviet Union and China. The document will involve reduction of the number of armed forces, the process and measures for supervising and monitoring such reductions, and the geographical scope of the future agreement. It should also include special measures for building military confidence.

In evaluating the Soviet-Chinese talks and the importance of the talks in the Soviet-Chinese relations, (Jeliyev) said that the talks will have a very big and important position in the entire Soviet- Chinese relationship. Reduction of armed forces along border areas will

reduce and eliminate military confrontations and will help build military confidence. He said that these are the main purpose of the talks. The reduction will also enhance trust between the two countries. He also said that signing of a concrete agreement will bring greatest economic results to both the national economies of the Soviet Union and China.

Northeast Asia

Japan Allegedly Holds Russian Civil War Gold

OW1111115791 Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Video report by A. Perevozchikov; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] Our country is catastrophically short of money. We look to our regional neighbor Japan, hoping for large loans. However, there was a moment in Russian history when, through sheer force of circumstances, Japan became the custodian of Russian gold—which incidentally it has not returned to this day. This seems the time to bring it up, because we are talking about 20 or so boxes of Russian gold which, as fate would have it, found itself in Japan at the end of the civil war.

During his interview with Californian businessman Sergey Pavlovich Petrov, correspondent Sirotkin suddenly discovered that Petrov's family had suffered from a putsch during the middle thirties in Japan.

It is difficult now to judge how accurate is the story portrayed in the film "Zolotoy Eshelon" [which depicts the transportation of the gold by General Kolchak's retreating White Army]. However, one thing is certain—Kolchak did have Russian gold in his possession, but its fate is largely unknown. [video shows Sirotkin interviewing Petrov]

[Begin Petrov recording] My father was the last quarter master general of the White Army when it crossed the border from Siberia into China, and at that time the Army still had the gold which was captured in Kazan. They used it to buy various items like uniforms and weapons. It later became necessary to hand the gold over to the Japanese mission. Of course the Japanese took the gold, and they used it for their own various clandestine operations in China; neither my father nor the remnants of the Army ever got it back. We went to Japan where my father took court action. [end recording]

But that was somewhat later, when General Petrov's family moved to Japan at the end of the twenties. So how did events surrounding the 20 boxes of Russian gold develop?

[Begin recording] [Sirotkin] Have any documents survived?

[Petrov] There is one copy which survived.

[Sirotkin] Is it in your personal archives?

[Petrov] No, not in my personal archive; but there is an Association of Russian Veterans in San Francisco who have a copy of the receipt in their archives. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Sirotkin] The story goes like this. During the civil war the Bolsheviks transferred the gold to Kazan out of fear of a German advance. The gold was captured by Czechoslovak Legionnaires when they revolted in Kazan. Later the Legionnaires joined Kolchak and became his leading assault forces. Thus the gold was turned over to him, and he used it to arm his forces, pay his debts, and ensure his recognition by the Entente.

[Perevozchikov] Are there any legal precedents in International Law which will allows us to lay claim to the gold? Do they exist?

[Sirotkin] Of course. Currently the Baltic republics—states—are raising the question about the return of gold which they had placed in safekeeping with the great powers in 1940 after Hitler and Stalin had made their deal. The ambassadors of those countries officialy handed over the gold reserves for safekeeping which were kept in the banks of Great Britain, France, and other countries. Basically, General Petrov did the same thing. He turned over 22 boxes to the Japanese general commanding the Japanese occupation army. At the time the Japanese occupation army was enroaching into the Baykal region, which was the reason for handing it over for safekeeping. The fact that they were not successful in getting it back, or that there was a coup in Japan, do not change the issue. In international law there is an understanding about the Law of Succession to Rights. However, the Bolsheviks tried to go outside the world economic, political, and legislative processes; we all know very well how that ended. [end recording]

'No Results' in Japanese Inquiry

LD1111173191 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—Japan does not consider it possible to find any traces of "the Russian gold" only on the basis of a newspaper report, as so much time has passed, a representative of the Japanese Embassy in Moscow responded on the Tokyo instruction to the Soviet Foreign Ministry's inquiry.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry turned to the Japanese Embassy in Moscow in connection with recent publications in Soviet mass media on the fate of the "Russian gold", which over the civil war years (1918-1920) was held by the Russian opposition and partially taken abroad.

One IZVESTIYA newspaper reported on September 13, 1991, that General Petrov from the Kolchak army

handed the gold over to the Japanese military administration in Manchuria for "storage". Later, the general brought a suit in the Japanese court in order to return the gold, but lost the case.

In its inquiry, the Soviet Foreign Ministry asked about the fate of the gold and possible availability in the Japanese archives of materials on Petrov's suit.

The Japanese representative said during a "meeting at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, that corresponding applications of the Japanese Foreign Ministry to the country's Ministry of Finance and other competent bodies brought no results.

At the same time, the Japanese side expressed its readiness to reconsider the inquiry of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in case more detailed information is given to it.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Breakdown of Union-Vietnam Relationship Eyed

PM1411151091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[Correspondent B. Vinogradov report: "We Are Leaving Vietnam. To Go Where? Post-Perestroyka Stage in Soviet-Vietnamese Relations"]

[Excerpts] Hanoi—It was announced in Vietnam recently that the ravaged state enterprises will be sold to private owners. The bankrupt enterprises—around 1,000 in all—including plants and factories constructed at one time with our help, will go under the hammer after proving unable to survive in conditions of market competition and the abolition of budget subsidies. [passage omitted]

But the issue is not just about privatization as a logical component of the economic reforms. [passage omitted]

For many years our mutual relations observed a hierarchy which was humiliating for the Vietnamese. We have become so used to the role of patron and mentor that we cannot shake off this complex of our "own self-importance" to this day. Even though the Vietnamese market, which determines the way people think, is bursting with goods and our stores are empty. It is clear that the collapse of a great power which occupies one-sixth of the world's surface is linked in the Vietnamese consciousness with the collapse of the past image of "true and generous friends."

And having been deprived of Soviet aid and having been refused preferential credit, Vietnam is forced to seek partners elsewhere. This process is wholly natural: After learning how to walk with foreign support, the time has come for it to stand on its own two feet. With our aid—for all its low effectiveness—one way or another a reasonable industrial base has been created which can be developed. But this is not the problem. The following questions have to be asked.

Why is it that we are in such a hurry to clear out of Vietnam, leaving to the mercy of fate everything which was so painstakingly constructed over more than 35 years, everything which was earned and accumulated in the process of getting to know and study each other? In this time a whole generation of Vietnamese economists and production workers has matured—people who studied at our higher educational institutions (which I venture to say are not the world's worst), speak fluent Russian, and in fact are now running the country.

Dozens of specific programs begun—but obviously not thought through—with massive financial and material investments have been left in abeyance. Programs for coffee, tea, fruit and vegetables, coconut oil, medicinal plants, tin, natural rubber... Pay attention—all these things are popular goods which can only be purchased with hard currency and which we cannot do without, yet we are condemned to purchasing them from abroad. Soviet raw materials (up to $60 million worth!), imported under the auspices of the Ministry of Light Industry, are lying rotting in warehouses. Likewise, Vietnam's foreign debt to the Union—around $10 billion—is also in abeyance...

It is an absurd situation. On the one hand, now we are only concerned with what we can find in the world of the rich benefactor who might issue loans and enter our market. On the other, we have washed our hands of our debtors, as if to forget about their existence.

Of course, nobody would refuse full and immediate repayment, especially as the deadline for clearing the credits seems to have arrived. But right now this is unrealistic. Vietnam itself is going cap in hand—according to the IMF, it will have to find some 12 billion [currency unspecified] by the year 2000 in order to "get closer to the ASEAN level," which organization it intends to join. It is senseless to even imagine the impossible—that we might suddenly decide to call in all our debts from our former partner, and if he does not pay up then declare him bankrupt. First, we will not extract this money from Vietnam now, and, second, we ourselves are up to our eyeballs in overdue debts. And it is unlikely that the IMF or the World Bank will be more lenient toward us than toward Vietnam.

But the paradox is that Vietnam is prepared to pay. Not all at once, but bit by bit using the profits of what would be earned from trading with us, supplying us with clothes, footwear, foodstuffs, and carpets, and finding other acceptable forms of settling accounts. However, at the present time in my opinion not one contract has been formulated. Trade is paralyzed. For almost a year now we have been blithely transferring to freely convertible currency and world prices. Throughout this year it has been difficult to understand our departments' position, and one could only sympathize with the Soviet trade representative and his people who found themselves in the position of middlemen deprived of duties and initiative. It is truly stagnation on an international scale...

Moreover, the closure of Soviet offices, the cuts in embassy personnel, and the recall of specialists have constituted graphic signs of our departure. The contingent has had to be brought into line, as they say, and the trade mission removed from the budget and left to earn its own living—economic accountability, that is, whereby the delegation must live on the profits from deals concluded. That is how it is.

But it is painful to see us withdrawing politically also, to who knows what positions, fatally losing influence in Indochina and Southeast Asia, a region which is expected to assume the role of the new economic pole of the 21st century. But we would like to step into the next millennium with dignity, as a great power. Unfortunately, all things considered, our ambitions will not be backed by serious efforts, while Vietnam is finding its place in the new regional system with increasing confidence. Vietnam is building contacts with ASEAN countries and normalizing relations with China, and it intends to establish diplomatic relations with the United States.

It is also painful that the notes of the valedictory march contain neither motives for what has happened or promises to return. This circumstance is causing particular confusion for partners. "If that is what you have decided, then at the very least explain," they plead. However, nobody in Moscow will offer anything apart from lamentations on the "revolutionary situation" in the Union. In Paris, when Foreign Minister B. Pankin met for the first time with his colleague, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Van Linh, all efforts on the Vietnamese side to "clarify relations" proved unsuccessful. All our minister could say—clearly by way of pacifying his interlocutor—was that the "friendship is still alive"....

It will be more difficult to return, specialists say. Until recently, we were the absolute leaders in all parameters of foreign economic activity in Vietnam. Now, in commodity turnover we occupy fifth place after Taiwan, Japan, Thailand, and South Korea, and in investments we rank seventh. The allied agreement for this year is to all intents and purposes breached. Rice which was earmarked for us has been sold somewhere in Latin America. At the same time, our enterprises are paying cash for grain from neighboring Thailand, rubber from Malaysia, and footwear from Singapore. Vietnam has all of these things at a cheaper price, and transportation costs are lower. At the SRV Trade Ministry I was told that their warehouses are crammed with goods ready to be dispatched to the Far East, but there is no system of settlements, no rules of the new game, and simply no subjects of projected deals.

Now hope is pinned on Russia and on businessmen from other republics who have the chance to reap a lot of what the center has lost, including debts.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Mujahidin Delegation Talks Continue

Belonogov Says Dialogue 'Tough'

LD1411180291 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Vasiliy Titov and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—Soviet officials on Thursday [14 November] continued talks with the mujahidin delegation in Moscow.

Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov, head of the Soviet delegation, told TASS it was a "tough" but "useful and fruitful" dialogue.

"Our positions cannot fully coincide, but we try to move the dialogue forward," Belonogov said.

He said the sides are now working on a joint document.

Mortazawi Says Differences Narrowed

OW1411192791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Seyed Rahmatollah Mortazawi, leader of the Iranian-based Shiite Afghan opposition and chairman of the Afghan Islamic Unity Party, told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent Thursday [14 November] that at the ongoing talks representatives of the Afghan mujahidin managed to narrow their differences with the Soviet side. At IF's request, he commented on the course of the talks of the Afghan opposition's delegation with representatives of the USSR and RSFSR Foreign Ministries.

"With Allah's help we will come to an agreement. Talks with Soviet friends are proceeding well", Mortazawi said.

The Moscow talks with mujahidin representatives focus on peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and the release of Soviet and Afghan POWs.

Rabbani Not 'Taking Part'

OW1411171091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Members of the delegation of the Afghan mujahidin opened talks at 1 pm on Thursday [14 November] with the USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov and his RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] colleague Andrey Kolosovskiy.

Sources said to be close to the mujahidin delegation told IF [INTERFAX] that the chief negotiator, Burhanuddin Rabbani, is not taking part in the talks.

Working groups are discussing ways of settling the Afghan conflict politically and having Soviet and Afghan POWs return home.

Disagreement Over Joint Document

LD1411164191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Negotiations between the mujahidin and representatives of the Soviet leadership are dragging on. (Bakhtiyar Sakimov), head of the Afghan Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, a member of the Soviet delegation to the negotiations with the mujahidin, has told a STUDINFORM correspondent the reason for delay: Both sides wish to draw up a joint document containing the agreements that are being outlined, but there are a number of disagreements. The first is the attitude to Najibollah's regime. In our view the people of Afghanistan should tackle these issues independently. The mujahidin, however, think we should dismiss Najibollah ourselves by means of political pressure. Otherwise, they will fight to the very end. Apart from that, the mujahidin insist that the Soviet Union legally recognize that it is guilty. Obviously, we will not agree to this. There are also a number of moot points. According to a report we received half an hour ago, the exchange of opinions continues.

POW's Remain 'Stumbling Block'

LD1411225391 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Vasiliy Titov and Yuriy Tysovski]

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—The talks being held here with the delegation of the Afghan opposition remained uncompleted today [14 November]. The sides failed to work out a mutually acceptable version of a joint document on the results of meetings despite numerous attempts at reaching accord about a final text.

TASS correspondents have learned that the differences of approach to the release of prisoners-of-war in the context of general problems of the Afghan settlement process remain the stumbling block to an accord.

Next round of talks will be held on Friday morning. Whether the Afghan rebel delegation's twice postponed meeting with Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy will be held depends on the outcome of tomorrow's round of talks.

Shevardnadze's Meeting Reported

PM1511100191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 4

[A. Ivanko report: "Mujahidin Set Terms"]

[Text] The two rounds of talks between delegations from the Afghan opposition, the Soviet and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] foreign ministers, and representatives of four republics—the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan—ended on the evening of 12 November. The talks are being held behind closed doors and will continue 13 November.

We were told by the RSFSR Foreign Ministry that the Soviet side had verbally put forward a package of proposals and that on 13 November the participants would try to "get down on paper" what the delegations had been discussing. According to information from a ranking Russian Foreign Ministry staffer, the republics are adopting a single coordinated line and there are no contradictions between them, even though each of them has its own interests in the talks. But what was particularly emphasized was their unified position.

They are discussing ways of settling the situation in Afghanistan. The opposition is insisting that the present Kabul regime be replaced by an Islamic government and that our side should tear up all agreements signed with Afghanistan over the past 12 years. According to information from an informed source at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Soviet side has stated that it is prepared to support any government elected by the Afghan people.

The main sensation was the proposal by B. Pankin about the readiness to send a Soviet representative to maintain regular contact with the mujahidin. It is not being ruled out that he would be based in Peshawar (Pakistan). Thus, a situation unique for our country could emerge—the Soviet Union would have a mission (the Soviet Embassy) to the Kabul government and a mission (it is not yet clear what it would be called) to the Afghan opposition.

During the discussion concerning Soviet MIA's in Afghanistan the mujahidin noted that they did not have all the information on hand and could give no precise figures. From their standpoint, several dozen men could be involved.

On 12 November there was a meeting between the mujahidin delegation and E. Shevardnadze. We were told at the Foreign Policy Association that E. Shevardnadze stressed that he was not authorized to conduct any talks or to express any official positions. However, certain points of the conversation should be noted. First and foremost, E. Shevardnadze talked about the creation of a favorable psychological climate for an intra-Afghan dialogue and cited the Cambodian settlement as an example. A political system should not be imposed from outside. Only the Afghan people can decide the questions of their statehood.

Admittedly, E. Shevardnadze stressed that the regime in Kabul is a reality and that those who support it are part of the Afghan people. It is necessary to think about ways to "involve" those people in the discussion too. Nor are we forgetting that certain mistakes made by Najibollah are on our conscience. He was our ally and we have certain moral obligations, E. Shevardnadze said.

A second meeting with Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy is proposed. The top leaders of the country and the republic will be told about the progress of the talks. In general, the program for the Afghan opposition's stay is being made up as they go along. It is hard to say at the moment how long they will remain in our country. One thing is clear—the dialogue has begun and is actively under way. And the Russian Foreign Ministry hopes that these will not be the last contacts with the opposition leaders.

Further on Visit by Indian Foreign Minister

Received by Gorbachev

LD1511122291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Nov (TASS)—A meeting has just started in the Kremlin between Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and Madhavsinh Solanki, Indian minister of external affairs. He arrived in the USSR the previous day on an official visit.

Talks With Pankin

LD1511123191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0931 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Nov (TASS)—Talks began this morning at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs between USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Indian Minister of External Affairs Madhavsinh Solanki. The latter is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

Discussion of issues relating to the development of Soviet-Indian bilateral relations, in particular in the trade and economic sphere, and also some international problems are on the agenda of the talks.

Officials, Others Comment on Madrid Talks

Pankin Interviewed

LD1511113691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Zhudro]

[Text] Tel Aviv, 15 Nov (TASS)—"The opinion that our participation in the Madrid conference is merely symbolic is erroneous. Neither Arabs nor Israel conceal that if it had not been for the Soviet Union, the conference would not have taken place. This is also stressed by the U.S. Administration," USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin stated in his interview to a correspondent of Israel's Russian-language newspaper THE TIMES, which is published today [15 November].

The head of the Soviet foreign political directorate said that the USSR is doing everything necessary to continues the talks which were started in Madrid. If Washington is being proposed as a venue for bilateral talks, he said, then Moscow can be proposed as a venue for multilateral talks.

Answering the question of whether it could be expected that, despite shortage of currency, the USSR would significantly reduce arms deliveries to the Near East, the minister said, "Talks are now being held between permanent members of the UN Security Council on showing sensible restraint in arms deliveries, taking into account peculiarities of this or that region. The issue of reducing arms deliveries to the Near East is in the center of these talks."

PLO Diplomat Comments

LD1511055591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1500 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The first stage of the Middle East peace conference has ended. Luckily, the indications show that this stage will not be the last one. All observers are unanimous that the essential outcome of Madrid conference was the reality epitomized by the holding of the conference itself, and the fact that this conference passed peacefully and that bridges were established for subsequent negotiations. This is the assessment of Washington, Moscow, and Western Europe. What is the opinion of the PLO?

Regarding this, our correspondent asked Sa'id Abu 'Amarah, charge d'affaires of the State of Palestine in Moscow.

[Begin recordig] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Charge D'Affaires, the international peace conference held in Madrid is now under way, thank God. I understand that it is difficult to talk about results at this moment, but what is your comment regarding the first days of the proceedings of this conference.

['Amarah] We believe that the beginning of the conference was an excellent start. We believe the efforts deployed for preparing and holding this conference yielded fruit and positive results, as all parties concerned with the settlement issue sat around the negotiating table to discuss the future of the region.

On our side, we believe that the Palestinian delegation, through its address to the conference and through the chairman of the delegation, Dr. Haydar Abd al-Shafi, has voiced its sincere expression on the hopes and ambitions of the Palestinian people as well as on its peaceful goals.

The results of the beginning and also of the bilateral meetings between the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation with the Israelis were not bad. In fact, we hope that the talks will continue on a continuous and intensified manner once agreement is reached regarding the venue for the bilateral meetings. We also hope to achieve positive results to realize for our Palestinian people their hopes regarding self-determination, freedom, and independence.

[Reporter] What can you say regarding coordination among Arab delegations?

['Amarah] I believe the Damascus meetings that preceeded the conference laid the foundation for coordination among Arabs. Obviously, following the opening of the conference, there should now be coordination regarding bilateral talks. There should also be progress on all fronts, not only on one side. This is because we have UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and the principle of land for peace that should form the basis of these negotiations.

The basis of these negotiations stipulates the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab land. Stemming from this premise, Arab coordination should be based on implementing the foundations upon which the conference was established. [end recording]

Soviet Role Defended

92UF0191A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Nov 91 p 4

[Article by Igor Belyayev: "Peace and Shamir"]

[Text] In recent days we have had to read some very strange opinions by my esteemed colleagues in connection with the Near East peace conference in Madrid. The thought is that the Union should be dealing exclusively with its own domestic affairs and not be wasting time (since we are no longer a great power) defending supposedly nonexistent interests outside our borders. I am convinced that this opinion reflects neither the objective political realities nor the importance for us of what is happening in the capital of Spain.

Yes, the Soviet Union no longer exists in its earlier form. However, we have in no way ceased to be a great power. The Union still possesses nuclear weapons. The generally recognized parity with the United States in this sphere remains a decisive sign of our gigantic weight in present-day international relations. That is what they think in Washington and that is also what they think in the West European capitals, where big policy is made. Otherwise we would long ago have been written off as a "third-rate country" and would not be holding important negotiations with anyone. If you want to kill yourself, so go ahead.

I think that we should not constantly be denigrating the role of the Union in today's world with references to our domestic disorders. Too much of what will happen to humankind tomorrow depends on what happens in Moscow today. Is the proof of that not the alarm in the Pentagon during the days of the August putsch when the codes for the "nuclear button" were stolen from the president of our country?

Accordingly, our important role in the Near East peace conference in Madrid is a natural one. President G. Bush invited the Union in the role of cochairman of the conference not to play some static role. Not at all! He also took into account our influential positions and our interests in the region, and the fact that Moscow has been and remains for the Arabs, and in particular the Palestinians, a hope for a just settlement to the prolonged conflict with Israel. While trying to restore diplomatic relations with the Union, Israel has also been hoping for help in resolving its own problems. In short, we have played, and continue to play, the role of a counterweight in the Near East against those who are counting on new wars.

Now, peace in the Near East is also a vital need for us. The Union, no matter which republics we may have in mind—Russia, the Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, or the Central Asian republics—borders on that region. It is natural that we have an interest in tranquility there. Otherwise deliberately or unconsciously we would have to proceed from the premise that the sons of Israel and Islam who have been confronting each other there for more than 40 years will ultimately use nuclear weapons. Let me remind you that Saddam Husayn was very close to possession of those weapons. Israel already has them. And if the Israeli-Arab confrontation continues then it may soon become a nuclear confrontation, with all the unpredictable consequences of that for us and for the entire world.

The Union intends to expand economic cooperation with all the countries of the Near East and to trade with them in order to mend its own position decisively and quickly. And while our Western partners are moving from words to deeds in providing aid for us, the Arabs have already offered us loans totaling $9 billion! Naturally, realization of those loans in our favor also requires peace in the Near East.

Finally, we should not forget the Islamic factor, particularly the role of Iran (and also Turkey) in the region. Immediately before the opening of the peace conference in Madrid, the extremist organizations held their own gathering in Tehran. The organizers announced their readiness to send Iranian military formations and terrorists to help the Palestinian people fighting for their rights. Iran is a neighbor of the Union. It is therefore easy to imagine the kind of threat that this kind of action would present for us and for you. What can be used to oppose them? First and foremost a favorable outcome to the Near East peace conference and an end to the historical confrontation between Israel and the Arabs, which leads nowhere, as soon as possible.

It is for that reason that the attitude of the Israeli prime minister, Y. Shamir, who devoted his two speeches in Madrid mainly to the past while he offered nothing constructive for the conference going on there, is disappointing. Moreover, Shamir left the conference, making some reference to... the Sabbath.

What is encouraging is the fact that thanks to the efforts of the cochairmen of the conference the parties have nevertheless decided to start from exactly where Y. Shamir opposed—bilateral negotiations, without switching the venue to the Near East. The participation of the Palestinians in those negotiations, which in and of itself could lead to positive results, is also hopeful. If, of course, during the course of the negotiating process the Israelis and Arabs agree on exchanging occupied lands for peace and on guarantees for the national rights of the Palestinians. As they were guaranteed for the Jews as the result of the division of the mandate of Palestine into two states.

Break in Talks 'Alarming'

LD1411152891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] No one expected the direct dialogue between Israel, Arab countries, and Palestinians, that started in Madrid, to be easy. The main thing is that it would continue. Crushed hopes for peace could sharply aggravate the situation in the Middle East, therefore, the current break in the talks is alarming. It has not even been decided where separate meetings of Israel and Syria, Israel and Lebanon, Israel and the delegation of Jordan and Palestinians will be held.

The choice of a site is not the greatest problem, though. The approaches of the sides are growing tougher. For example, Syria has declared that it will not enter any talks if Israel does not recognize the necessity of solving the problem of occupied Golan Heights. Meanwhile, the Israeli parliament decided to drop the issue from all negotiations and support a plan for the construction of new Jewish settlements in the area.

The Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, expressed readiness to act as mediator, to bring the Syrians and Israelis closer together. In his opinion everyone wants peace but this would mean that Prime Minister Shamir should drop some of his no's. Meanwhile, as the Egyptian president says, Shamir is saying no to the Golan Heights problem, no to the question of Jerusalem and the West Bank of the Jordan, no to the termination of construction of Jewish settlements in occupied territories. In the opinion of the Egyptian president, Israel is closing the door to talks even before they've properly opened.

And now a sensible remark: In addition to making official public statements, politicians are also working behind closed doors, and that applies to Madrid as well. So probably it is too early to give up all hope. Important American-Israeli talks are due in Washington next week. They will involve President Bush, Secretary of State Baker, the Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and the Israeli Foreign Minister Levy. Hopefully, the United States, that came with the initiative of the Madrid conference together with the Soviet Union, will find convincing arguments to end the pause in Mideastern negotiations.

The United States is also working on new initiatives to organize a bigger international conference for the Middle East in the first half of December where such regional problems as arms control, the position of refugees and economic aid could be discussed. Soviet diplomats are also working actively.

We can all hope that the difficulties that have emerged in the process of negotiations will be overcome in the long run.

Shevardnadze Talks With KUNA Director

LD1111163291 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0850 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, 11 November (KUNA)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Soviet president's Political Consultative Council and chairman of the Foreign Policy Association in the Soviet Union, has undertaken to do all he can at a personal and international level to secure the release of Kuwaiti POW's who are still detained in Iraq.

During a meeting with the KUNA Director General Mr Barjas Humud al-Barjas, the former Soviet foreign minister stressed that the issue of the POW's occupies a prominent place in our hearts. They should be released as soon as possible .

During his meeting with Mr al-Barjas, which lasted almost an entire hour, the Soviet official called for increased international pressure to bear on the Iraqi regime via international and Arab organizations and world public opinion to secure the release of all the prisoners detained by the Iraqi regime. [passage omitted]

The man who is one of the founding members of the new Democratic Party reviewed the complex conditions in his country and said: Our country is living through a tense period and the situation is complex as you know and have seen for yourself; there are various political difficulties.

Afterward he talked about the situation in the various republics, saying: Relations of the republic with the center are not stable and there are problems between the federal center and the independent bodies. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze voiced confidence that Soviet-Kuwaiti friendship has traversed the difficult period during the recent developments and scored successes. He said there are grounds for believing that bilateral relations will go forward and make greater progress.

Shevardnadze explained that he wants to confirm that the Soviet Union stood alongside Kuwait in the difficult days during the Iraqi invasion, because this position sprang from the Soviet Union's deep respect for the State of Kuwait. [passage omitted]

Al-Barjas explained that transgression against international legitimacy did not only come from the Iraqi regime's invasion of Kuwait, but also was supported by the regimes in Jordan, Sudan, and Yemen and also by Yasir 'Arafat.

Al-Barjas said that 'Arafat was banking that the road to Jerusalem would be via Kuwait, but it turned out that the road to Jerusalem would be via Madrid. [passage omitted]

The KUNA director general stressed that Kuwait is earnest about the sound rebuilding of media institutions to enable them to debate our social, economic, political, and life problems and put forward possible solutions and concepts through broad popular participation. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the meeting was Pogos Akopov, former Soviet ambassador to Kuwait and current director general of the Foreign Policy Association, who enquired at the end of the meeting if KUNA can participate in publishing in Arabic the magazine which the association is issuing under the title VESTNIK, on international affairs.

Al-Barjas replied by saying that he will raise the matter with His Highness the Amir of Kuwait to ask the Ministry of Information in Kuwait to discuss and sponsor the project because KUNA's resources are limited.

The KUNA director general strongly supported the idea of building cultural, social, and information bridges between the Gulf states and the nations of the Soviet Union.

Here, Shevardnadze asked Mr al-Barjas to discuss this proposal which, if found useful, could be discussed in detail.

The Soviet official returned to the talk about the Kuwaiti POW's and he proposed the inclusion of the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent in the international campaign to secure the release of the prisoners, particularly since this society enjoys a prominent place in the country and at the international level and it still has some humanitarian links with the Iraqi Red Crescent.

Al-Barjas said that he will meet for this purpose with officials of the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent in his capacity as secretary general of the Kuwaiti Red Crescent.

Iranian Maneuvers Called 'Political Display'

NC1311124291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian to Iran 1430 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today" feature]

[Text] Esteemed listeners. Joint maneuvers of the Iranian Armed Forces and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps concluded in the northern part of the Persian Gulf today. These maneuvers, codenamed One and One [yeke yek] lasted four days. According to official reports, 16 Iranian Naval vessels and nearly 2,000 Islamic Revolution Guards participated in the maneuvers.

Independent observers point out that these maneuvers did not have any military objective, but were mostly an overt political display by Tehran in reply to the joint military operations of the United States and Kuwait. All have noted that the Iranian Armed Forces military training coincided with the military actions of the United States and Kuwait in the region. On 11 November the United States and Kuwait began joint maneuvers during which the forces of the two sides landed on shore and practiced shooting.

Thousands of U.S. troops who had participated in the military operations to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation (?early) this year are taking part in the maneuvers. The U.S. military spokesman in Kuwait said they are taking place within the framework of the 10-year military cooperation accord between the two countries. This accord allows for the deployment of U.S. weapons in Kuwait, the training of Kuwaiti Armed Forces personnel by U.S. military experts, and the U.S. Navy's use of Kuwaiti ports.

It may be said that Iran has repeatedly voiced its opposition to the U.S.-Kuwait defense accord, as it does not believe this accord is the answer to the region's security needs. As far as it is known, the One and One maneuvers may be considered another manifestation of the Iranian leadership's unhappiness with the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf region.

However, Tehran did not content itself with a display of strength, as it simultaneously embarked on some political moves. On 10 November, 'Ali Mohammad Besharati, Iranian deputy foreign minister, made a short visit to Kuwait. According to IRNA, 'Ali Mohammad Besharati, who was carrying a personal message from President Hashemi-Rafsanjani, told correspondents that the two sides have discussed issues of mutual interest. He was not willing to divulge further details.

Thus, as you are aware, Iran acted in two directions at the same time. On the one hand it staged military maneuvers and conveyed its firm determination to combat U.S. policy in the region and on the other hand it strove to convince the Arabs that it is prepared for bilateral talks.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Foreign Minister's Visit Reviewed

PRAVDA Interviews Botha

PM1111150191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 91 p 5

[Interview with South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha by A. Lukyanov and S. Oposhnyanskiy; place and date not given: "Roelof Botha: 'I Am Leaving With a Sense of Duty Fulfilled'..."—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A South African Interests Section began functioning this summer in Moscow at the Austrian Embassy in the Soviet Union, and a similar USSR mission opened in South Africa. Thus the first step was taken toward the normalization of relations between the two countries. Now there is a new event—South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha arrived in Moscow. Before this, he visited the Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—and the Ukrainian capital, Kiev. The leader of the South African foreign policy department had business meetings in St. Petersburg and Moscow. On the final day of the visit he met with PRAVDA correspondents. They received written answers to questions sent previously by the editorial office to Pretoria and which we now publish. During the meeting there was also a brief conversation on the results of R. Botha's diplomatic tour.

[PRAVDA] Mr. Botha, how do you assess the situation in Southern Africa today and South Africa's mutual relations with its neighbors? Are there no difficulties in the process of normalization that is developing?

[Botha] The situation in Southern Africa now is quite different from what it was about five years ago. South Africa is now in a state of peace with its neighbors and I believe that the treaty signed in 1984 between South Africa and Mozambique, the successful talks on Namibia and Angola leading to the 1990 New York agreements and the proclamation of Namibian independence in 1990, and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola have considerably helped to ease tension and eliminate conflicts in the region. South Africa's trade with countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, Namibia, Angola, and Malawi has now expanded considerably.

To this it may be added that the Southern African Customs Union, which includes South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique, has proved to be an effective mechanism for cooperation. South Africa now has trade missions in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. South Africa recently established official relations with Angola and Namibia in the form of interests missions of those countries.

As you know, for many years now we have had diplomatic relations with Malawi. I hope that in the near future we will normalize relations with all our neighbors. This is a natural process. Ultimately it goes without saying that the normalization of relations will enrich all the countries of the region.

[PRAVDA] What is your opinion of the arrangement of political forces within South Africa? How are the fundamental problems, including relations between whites and the colored population, being resolved?

[Botha] This is a very important question. It should be borne in mind that the dynamics of internal political processes in South Africa today are part of the development of the situation in the region. The South African Government is sure that we must hold talks with the governments of the region's states in a spirit of good will, despite the emotional conditions. We must hold talks on the basis of the principle that there must be no losers among us, only winners.

The principles of talks with neighbors are the basis for dialogue within the country. The proposed holding of multiparty talks will be a stage for the participation of all South African citizens in the country's political, economic, and cultural life.

Different political and cultural movements exist in South Africa. Nevertheless, we think that these differences are ironed out in the process of elaborating the new constitution. In many respects the Soviet Union is facing the same sort of problems. Political developments in South Africa are going beyond racial barriers. And among the black population there is a major difference of views on the economic and political system which will exist in South Africa. Nevertheless, it is necessary to be cautious in assessing the relations existing between blacks and whites.

It is important to note that the majority believe that talks are the only path for South Africa to resolve problems and that violence is in no one's interests. Many acts of violence have occurred in our country recently, but a mechanism for combatting that phenomenon is being worked out. And the leaders of the various forces are constantly discussing this problem.

I believe that talks among the various parties will lead to the creation of a new constitution which will ensure the protection of all South African citizens.

[PRAVDA] Is it possible, in your view, to talk of South Africa's emergence from international isolation? How are reciprocal relations being formed with other states in the conditions of UN economic sanctions—are these sanctions being circumvented or ignored?

[Botha] South Africa's isolation has eased considerably since February 1990, when President de Klerk announced the implementation of far-reaching changes in South Africa. N. Mandela was released then. In the past 18 months the South African Government has taken many steps to repeal the apartheid laws and other discriminatory acts. The government has done much to remove all obstacles to talks. We have changed South

Africa's political landscape and created an irreversible process which will lead to the participation of all South African citizens in political life. These reforms have been recognized by the United States, Britain, the EEC countries, Japan, and other states. As a result many of them have lifted their trade sanctions. The decisions adopted by the United States, Japan, and some East European countries have enabled South Africa to enter many new markets.

These events are having a positive effect on the South African people as well as on the development of economic relations with the region's countries.

Unfortunately, however, some UN member states continue to apply the old principles in their policy toward South Africa and are exerting pressure at a time when many parties in the country need support on the path toward reconciliation.

Something which people in the Soviet Union will understand in particular is the fact that South Africa will not be able to achieve political changes if it is not supported by a firm economic basis.

Thus, I appeal to those who still hope to punish South Africa to reconsider their position. After all, sanctions merely slow down the process of the more equitable organization of South Africa.

It is also very important to bear in mind the disastrous economic situation in many African countries. Africa is on the verge of being swallowed up by the industrially developed countries. Nevertheless, certain UN and OAU countries prefer to focus their efforts on the application of sanctions against South Africa. However, in many regards South Africa is Africa's last hope. We have unique industrial structures which all the countries of Southern Africa could join. South Africa can also help in the implementation of a broad range of programs, especially in agriculture and health care.

[PRAVDA] In your opinion, are there prospects in evidence for the development of South Africa's ties with the Soviet Union? At what level and in what spheres? What has already been done in this regard?

[Botha] Bilateral relations between South Africa and the USSR are at the initial stage. As you know, both countries now have interests sections at the Austrian Embassies in Moscow and Pretoria. This is a positive factor which is helping to establish relations between us after the period of alienation, which began in 1956. I hope that these relations will improve and will eventually lead to the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Fortunately, the majority of sanctions against my country in the cultural and sports spheres are already things of the past. Two circus companies from Moscow, a Georgian dance ensemble, and the Soviet ballerina Alla Mikhalchenko have recently made successful appearances in South Africa. What we are seeing is progress in the implementation of cultural exchange. I hope that in the near future South African artists and sports figures will be able to visit the Soviet Union.

As for economic questions, the first contacts between South Africa and the USSR have already been made. At the beginning of this year, a delegation from the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry visited us. And it seems that we have found mutually beneficial interest. Of course, there is much else that needs to be done. But it must be borne in mind that our countries' economic systems are considerably different and adaptation will take time. The potential for bilateral trade is great. South Africa has much to offer in this regard. We have enough potential for scientific cooperation and the development of relations in agriculture. Some steps in these spheres have already been made.

Assessing our relations today, I would note that they have been given a constructive start. Economic cooperation between South Africa and the USSR needs in-depth study. But I believe that the two countries will be enriched by cooperation with one another.

R. Botha then answered PRAVDA correspondents' questions just before leaving Moscow.

[PRAVDA] How do you assess the results of the visit to the Soviet Union? What impressions have you formed about the situation in our country?

[Botha] The signing of the protocol establishing consular relations between our countries is the chief specific result of my visit. I think this is the first time in modern history that a document has been signed between our governments. This is very important. The text of the document is even more important. You know that relations between our countries were broken off in 1956. And they have now been restored—at consulate level for the time being.

If you had asked me three years ago whether the establishment of relations between South Africa and the USSR was possible, my answer would have been "someday." If this question had been put to me six years ago, I would have answered "no."

Events in the USSR and South Africa have shown the two governments that such a step is essential. And they have acted like two rivers which have met and now flow together. Under the protocol both governments are now able to open consular offices, to send trade missions, to exchange technological breakthroughs, and to develop cultural and sports links.

It is important to note that this became posssible only after changes occurred in your country.

We, however, did not abandon the policy of apartheid because this was demanded by the Soviet Union. We simply came to the conclusion that this policy has no moral or economic justification, that this policy leads to isolation. And it is detrimental to the interests of our people.

It is important to note that when these changes occurred in both your and our country, the two governments asked themselves the question: Where do we stand now, what should our relations be? We do, of course, remember the past. But only when we are ready to recognize jointly the irreversibility of the processes which have occurred in our countries will we be able to trust each other completely and enjoy normal diplomatic relations.

As far as our government is concerned, we recognize the irreversibility of Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's reforms. I hope that my Soviet friends also consider that the steps taken by the de Klerk government are irreversible. I have grounds for believing—and Minister Pankin told me this—that the Soviet government does regard the reforms in South Africa in precisely this way. I am concerned at the wide range of problems facing your government in carrying out privatization, effecting the transition to the market economy, and so on.

I am also concerned by the fact that it is not yet clear whether the democratic movement can achieve success. Gorbachev and Yeltsin are, after all, carrying out unpopular measures. And they will be forced to take even more unpopular steps. And views could emerge, as is happening in our country, that the system is not working and that there was greater security and more foodstuffs available before. That you were better provided for, that you were a united Union and a great power. And that what Gorbachev has done and what Yeltsin is doing today is leading to the disintegration of a great power. Such views are possible.

But I would like to say to the Soviet people, particularly the Russians, that we do understand one thing: If the old system were operating the country would disintegrate very soon anyway. I have no doubt at all on that score. As far as the new system is concerned, it will, despite all the difficulties, give the Russian people a new and even more substantial role in the world than before. You are now open to the world, and the world is open to you. And this will help people realize their creative force.

I am leaving Moscow, but I am leaving new friends here. We have reached mutual understanding on many questions. Both governments share identical views on private ownership, freedom of the press and expression, freedom of religion, human rights, the market economy, and the rule-of-law state, which reliably protects citizens' interests.

I am leaving the Soviet Union with a sense of having fulfilled my duty. I feel very tired, but this is a pleasurable fatigue. It is as if, after a long journey, I have for the first time seen the promised land. And I wish our Russian friends every success and wish once again to stress that we feel sympathy for your people. Moreover, we are ready to discharge our role in helping you. And we hope that you too are ready to discharge your role and help us achieve our set objectives.

Need for Bilateral Relations

OW1511065891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1632 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Vladimir Kazimirov, chief of the Foreign Ministry's African Department, by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev: "USSR and South Africa Must Restore Bilateral Relations"; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **History**

Restoration of consular relations between the USSR and South Africa is an imperative, said chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's African Department, Vladimir Kazimirov. In an exclusive interview to DP [Diplomatic Panorama] he said that the two countries had maintained such relations from 1942 till 1956. Subsequently, their relations were severed on the initiative of South Africa, which was followed by a period of strong ideological and political confrontation.

Mr. Kazimirov said that the Soviet and South African officials had not maintained any contacts until 1988, when the two states began to look for ways of settling the conflict in south and south-west Africa—in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. In 1990, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived in Windhoek for talks with South African President Frederik de Klerk and Foreign Minister Roelof Botha. In February 1991, the two sides reached an agreement on exchanging sections of interests, attached to the Austrian Embassies in Pretoria and Moscow. There were plans to charge these sections with consular functions.

Consular Relations

Unfortunately, those plans had not been implemented, said Mr. Kazimirov. Meanwhile, bilateral contacts, however chaotic, continued to broaden. As the sections of interests could no longer cope with the growing amount of work, the two sides decided to restore consular relations. It is not yet clear, though, how this decision will be put into practice. The Soviet and South African foreign ministries are going to discuss specific aspects of this work.

The African National Congress

Asked about the ANC's [African National Congress] official attitude to the restoration of consular relations, Mr. Kazimirov said that the USSR Foreign Ministry had not received any official response. He described the USSR's relations with this "influential political force in South Africa" as traditionally friendly. He also said that the Soviet Union "respects the ANC's opinion", just like the opinions of the government and other political forces of South Africa. He noted, however, that these parties might have their own attitude to the prospect of restoring consular relations between the USSR and South Africa.

Prospects for Establishing Full-Scale Diplomatic Relations

Speaking about prospects for establishing full-scale diplomatic relations in 1991 or at the beginning of the next year, Mr. Kazimirov said that "nothing is impossible in politics". He remarked, however, that such a step requires "comprehensive analysis of all circumstances". The world community, he said, including the Soviet Union, hopes that further efforts will be made to settle the conflict in South Africa by political means. Much will depend on the results of the multi-party conference ("the all-party conference", to use the ANC's terminology) which is expected to draft the constitutional principles of a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Sanctions against South Africa

In the meantime, the Soviet Union will continue to support the international sanctions against South Africa. The USSR Foreign Minister, Boris Pankin, said this in clear terms to his South African counterpart Peter Botha [name as received] during their recent talks in Moscow, said Mr. Kazimirov. Boris Pankin also noted, that "the USSR would not be the last state to lift these sanctions. [no end quotation mark received]

Mr. Kazimirov noted that unlike other countries, the Soviet Union had no "tough or long-developed plan" for lifting them, all of which allows Moscow to respond more flexibly to the situation. Besides that, the USSR's own laws do not envisage sanctions against South Africa. "So, juridically, there is nothing to be lifted," said the Soviet diplomat. He also added that Moscow would act according to circumstances.

Soviet policies in Africa

Mr. Kazimirov categorically rejected the generally-accepted opinion that the Soviet Union, busy tackling its own problems, is losing interest in Africa. He agreed that the Soviet policies regarding Africa have changed over the past few years and that military aspects and ideology have been removed from relations between the USSR and South Africa. The Soviet presence in African states "is no longer a goal in itself," he remarked. All of these changes have only increased the Soviet Union's interest in Africa, which can be judged from the USSR's growing role in settling conflicts in Africa, he said in conclusion.

Commentary on Restoration of Ties

MB1511083591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] In the course of a private, unofficial visit, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha visited the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and stopped over at the Ukranian capital, Kiev. The South African minister also met several people in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

The main result of the visit was the signing of a protocol on the resumption of consular relations between the USSR and South Africa. The fuss over the meeting is easily understood: even Pik Botha, the politician, conceded that the establishment of diplomatic links between our two countries was unthinkable six years ago.

The past five years have seen more changes than all the 35 years since the South African authorities closed the Soviet Union's consulate in that country. Both the Soviet Union and South Africa have changed. The Soviet Union is not, however, saying that all the effects of the system of separate development in South Africa have been erased. But we are not inclined, as was the case before, to regard all the efforts of the South African authorities as just another novel, cunning strategy to extend apartheid's existence.

South Africa also had not reckoned on adding the Soviet Union to its allies, but it does appreciate our realistic approach to the changes that are taking place, and rightly so. This is a reasonably accurate reflection of the situation.

But no political processes can in fact be fitted into the narrow framework drawn up by politicians. There are other factors I'd like to mention which also contributed to the restoration of ties. First, Africa had for a long time been changing its views on South Africa's isolation, and has been wanting to expand trade and economic ties with that country. This led to an obvious conclusion: the country's neighbors probably know better what is taking place beyond their borders; and if they have decided that the changes are sincere, why should the USSR have doubts, merely because she had for a long time been considered the protector of the national liberation movement's interests?

It is now becoming clear that this role did not always promote the settlement of the constitutional conflict in South Africa. And as for the complexity of national problems, the USSR has learned from her own experience. Ethnic clashes are currently one of her biggest problems. All this has forced the USSR to be more careful about its interpretation of events in South Africa, the role of the national liberation movements, and relationships between black and white.

One cannot rule out the possibility that political lessons learned in the past can provide solutions in the future. One must bear in mind the fact that the road to consolidation in South Africa has been long and difficult, and that advice given by a country with whom it has diplomatic relations may take on a different significance.

It is for this reason that I cannot personally agree with the ANC's [African National Congress] reaction, says Aleksandr Fedorov. The organization labelled as premature the resumption of diplomatic relations between the USSR and South Africa, which had been broken in 1956. The ANC recommended that this should have been delayed until progress was made in the negotiation

process, and significant results had been achieved along the road to full democracy in South Africa.

But one can look back at events of a few years ago, when mere episodic contacts between representatives of the USSR and South Africa contributed toward Namibia's independence and a peaceful solution to Angola's problems. I am not ignoring the fact that the resumption of diplomatic ties are also aimed at more basic issues such as mutually advantageous relations which would not violate UN economic sanctions. It is also in the interests of the peoples of these two countries. But even more important: the primary cause of all the conflict in the world is more economic than political.

East Europe

Pankin Pledges Rychetsky 1968 Invasion Archives

AU1411140591 Prague CSTK in English 2220 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow Nov 12 (CSTK correspondent)—In a meeting with visiting Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Russian Interior Minister Nikolay Fedorov today promised to help speed up the search for documentary evidence that could shed light on Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Special attention will be paid to the "letter of invitation" allegedly sent by a group of Czechoslovak hardliners to the then Soviet leadership to justify the invasion which crushed the communist-led reform movement, Rychetsky told CSTK.

If the letter did exist, Rychetsky said, it could be either in the archives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry or in those of the Soviet Communist Party. The party's archives have been taken over by the Russian Federation. It has been definitely proved that the letter is not and has never been in the ministry's archives, he said.

Rychetsky, on a five-day visit to the Soviet Union since Saturday [9 November], said Pankin and Fedorov promised to provide Czechoslovakia with as many invasion-related documents as possible by the end of the year.

Cargo Ship Fired Upon in Yugoslav Danube

LD1411235891 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 14 Nov 91

["Incorporates reports by Soviet Danube Shipping Company chief and the Information Service of the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Defence"—TASS subslug; report from Odessa by UKRINFORM correspondent Yefim Shvartsman; report from Belgrade by TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov; received as one TASS item]

[Text] Odessa November 14 TASS—The third mate of the Soviet dry cargo ship Voroshilovgrad was killed when a missile hit the ship in the Yugoslav section of the Danube this morning, and [the] shift skipper died of wounds this afternoon. Two members of the crew were wounded—a radio operator and a steersman, Aleksey Tekhov, chief of the Soviet Danube Shipping Company, told TASS. The ship was on its way to the Austrian port of Vienna with a cargo of furnace burden and ore.

The management of the shipping company took measures to rescue the crew and take the ship out of the dangerous zone of combat actions. The dry cargo ship Orenburg of the Danube Shipping Company was sent to the scene. The Orenburg took the wounded on board and brought them to a hospital in the Yugoslav port of Novy Sad. Eighteen members of the Voroshilovgrad crew are now on board the Orenburg. They will be sent to the registry port—Izmail—in the coming days.

Belgrade November 14, TASS—Croatian groups fired on the Soviet tugboat Voroshilovgrad on the Danube this morning. There is loss of life among the crew, the Information Service of the Yugoslav Secretariat for Defence reported.

A missile was fired from Vukovar on the Soviet tugboat Voroshilovgrad at 08.45, local time. The ship ran out of control. Shortly after the incident, the river gunboat of the Yugoslav Army approached the Soviet tugboat and boarded physicians and orderlies. It was established that two people died, two were heavily wounded and two were lightly wounded on board the tugboat. The victims were sent to a hospital in the Serbian city of Novy Sad.

Rejecting possible accusations by the Croatian side that the Yugoslav Army was involved in firing on the Soviet ship, the Information Service quotes a radio message intercepted by the army's radio intelligence service after the firing: "Well done, we hit it. Immediately send a message to Zagreb to portray this as the work of the Army". The message was transmitted on the frequencies of the Croatian Interior Ministry.

Representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade left for the scene to find out the details of the tragic incident and help compatriots who are staying at the Novy Sad hospital.

The Yugoslav section of the Danube is under the control of the Army and Serbian authorities almost throughout. The only place controlled by Croatian groups is the Vukovar area where the incident occurred. Before that, river ships of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and a number of other countries had also been fired upon in the same place.

Attack on Ship Protested

LD1411193491 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Deryabin today summoned Yugoslav Ambassador Andjelko Runic and expressed

deep concern over the fact that the Soviet cargo motorship Voroshilovgrad was fired upon on the Danube in the area of the city of Vukovar.

As a result of the firing, "the third mate was killed and three crewmen" were wounded, says a report circulated by the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directory. The ship ran out of control and contact with it has been lost, the report added.

The Soviet side urged the Yugoslav authorities to take all necessary measures to investigate the tragic incident, punish the culprits, make up for the damage, ensure the safety of the crew, prevent a recurrence of such incidents, guarantee the safety and freedom of navigation on the Danube in the Yugoslav section of the "river."

The Yugoslav ambassador expressed deep regret over the incident and assured that he would immediately inform Belgrade of the statement made by the Soviet side.

The Soviet Embassy in Yugoslavia, the report said, is taking prompt measures to help the victims and take the ship out to safety. The embassy is maintaining a permanent working contact with the Yugoslav authorities.

West Europe

Shaposhnikov's Talks With Stoltenberg Reported

PM1511112991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

[Correspondent Ye. Bovkun report: "Shaposhnikov-Stoltenberg: Balance of Interests"]

[Text] Bonn—When politicians tell journalists after a meeting that it was "very good" and "very positive," it means nothing. The British prime minister, returning to London from Bonn, where he had met with [FRG Chancellor] H. Kohl the other day, used precisely those expressions. Although it is well known that there are differences—and considerable ones—between them on European policy.

It is possible that Bonn's official spokesmen are being rather over-optimistic in their assessments of the first visit to the FRG by Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, the new Soviet defense minister. However, history itself is conducive to the optimum cooperation and collaboration between our countries' military leaders. I would therefore make so bold as to suggest that Shaposhnikov and Stoltenberg nonetheless got to know each other better than Major and Kohl.

This was promoted above all by a confidential exchange of information. Marshal Shaposhnikov told his interlocutor about how he viewed the future structure of the Armed Forces under his charge, while the Bonn minister talked about the plans for reorganizing the Bundeswehr.

Needless to say, the Germans were interested in the question of whether the timetable for the Soviet troop withdrawal from the territory of the former GDR would be observed. This was even hinted at in the conversation between the federal chancellor and the Soviet guest. The planned nature of the withdrawal was reaffirmed.

Stoltenberg, for his part, gave an assurance that the FRG's commitments regarding the housing construction program for returning Soviet soldiers would be unswervingly fulfilled. All issues have already been virtually agreed at 14 of the 33 sites. Construction work has begun at six sites. We are talking about 8,000 apartments, 2,000 of which will be handed over by the year's end. As has already been reported, it is planned to build 36,000 in all.

The two-year program begun in 1990 for expanding bilateral cooperation will be continued. It has been decided to extend it to 1993. It includes not only exchanges of delegations and ship visits, but joint projects in the sphere of military medicine, military history, and sport, as well as contacts between military college and academy students.

Stoltenberg particularly highlighted the joint space flight, whereby a German officer will join the Soviet "Mir" program next year. "We are ready to share experience and to cooperate with the Soviet Union on all issues which need to be resolved when reforming the Armed Forces in a democratic state," the minister stressed.

Nor were the problems of European security left untouched. Shaposhnikov even delivered a report to students at the Bundeswehr Academy in Hamburg on the way in which the Soviet Union plans to develop its military policy, with a view to creating common security structures on the continent.

'No Accord' Reached at EC Conference

LD1511094491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Commentary by Anatoliy Popov—read by announcer]

[Text] Another conference of the Common Market countries' foreign ministers has ended in Holland. Its main purpose was to work out recommendations for a draft for the integration of the 12 countries in a political, financial, and currency union. Have the foreign ministers made any progress? An opinion from our commentator Anatoliy Potapov:

First, a reminder that the atmosphere for the discussion by the ministers was highly complicated. London had rejected in advance a draft providing for a common foreign policy by the 12 nations. The British Government does not accept either a formula of a federalist union, but Germany declares if the planned union is not a federation of states but an amorphous community, Germany will vote against. I may add that Britain is strongly opposed to giving legislative functions to the European Parliament, which is a consultative body of the Common Market.

In short, the situation is in a tight knot of contradictions and it is a difficult problem to untie it. No wonder there is so far no accord on a political union following the meeting of the foreign ministers. Much now depends on the British stand. Quite clearly the British premier, John Major, looks back more and more often on the problems of his domestic policies in view of the general elections next year.

So far, at this meeting of the foreign ministers, Britain did make a concession to its partners. For the first time London agreed that the Europarliament can veto down decisions by the organization of European Communities. True, though, this may happen in quite limited areas, such as environmental protection and public health, but this gesture was viewed as a definite advance toward extending the functions of the Europarliament.

Now, apparently, much will depend on the coming meeting between Chancellor Kohl and Premier Major on the 27th of this month. The issue of a political union of the 12 countries is certainly to be raised also at the Kohl-Mitterrand meeting starting in Bonn today.

On the whole the discussions by the 12 foreign ministers seems to have shown once again how delicate and complex the problem of political and economic integration of sovereign states is. Agreement to some limitation of sovereignty for the sake of prosperity for all the members of a future union is a choice that also faces other than the 12 nations of western Europe. The choice is highly acute now for the USSR republics. I'd say that the measure [as heard] to solve complicated problems of political and economic integration in the west of the continent, with all the difficulties and errors along this path, are now viewed as common experience for the all-European politics. For the experience of the west European nations, if they are successful, can be used in future by the East European countries, surely with due account for the different conditions.

Latin America & Caribbean

Troop Withdrawal Talks Start in Havana

U.S. Base 'Key Point'

LD1511014291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Report over video by Ye. Fateyev from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Talks on the forthcoming withdrawal of Soviet troops from Cuba started in Havana today [14 November]. The talks will discuss the Soviet training brigade stationed here. It numbers about 3,500 people and is equipped with a considerable pool of combat hardware.

Arriving in Havana, Vyacheslav Ustinov, head of the Soviet delegation and special envoy, did not try to conceal the complex nature of his mission, although he noted with conviction that he expects the talks to pass in the very friendly manner peculiar to Soviet-Cuban relations, regardless of possible different approaches. Alcibiades Hidalgo, Cuba first deputy minister of foreign affairs, stressed that the removal of the U.S. naval base from Cuban territory will be a key point among the problems to be analyzed.

U.S. Not Reciprocating

LD1511113291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Commentary by Sergey Koshkin]

[Text] President Gorbachev announced the decision to withdraw the unit from Cuba on 11 September. He explained the motives behind it in the following way: The step, he said, is bound to encourage further measures aimed at reducing tension around Cuba. It was hoped in Moscow that the United States would reciprocate by reducing the level of its military activity around Cuba. That in turn could help work out confidence-building measures in relations between the two states. Yet up to this time the United States has made no gesture of goodwill adequate to the one made by the Soviet Union. Moreover, as it follows from statements by Washington officials, the United States draws no link between the withdrawal of the Soviet military unit from Cuba and the closure of the American naval base in Guantanamo.

True the United States has reaffirmed that it has no intention to the use the Soviet Union's step to the detriment of Cuba's security.

In the meantime, the Soviet Union has begun translating its decision into reality. On mutual agreement the two sides set the date for negotiations. A Soviet delegation led by the special envoy Vyacheslav Ustinov has arrived in Havana. He declared in his arrival statement that the Soviet side hopes to resolve all the problems in a friendly spirit, and according to Ustinov he was authorized to discuss as a central issue the withdrawal of the military training unit. This doesn't rule out an opportunity, however, to raise any other problems during the discussions, he added.

As far as the Cuban side is concerned, it has declared that the closure of the American naval base on the Cuban territory is a key element that has to be anaylzed during the talks. The talks are expected to last from seven to 10 days.

Admiral Chernavin Ends 4-Day Visit to Cuba

LD1511045791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Text] Havana, 15 Nov (TASS)— Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander-in-chief of the USSR Navy

and USSR deputy defense minister, ended his official visit to Cuba on 14 November. During his four-day visit, which was at the invitation of Army General Raul Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Chernavin held talks with Division General Ulises Rosales del Toro, from the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and Rear-Admiral Pedro Perez Betancourt, commander of Cuba's Revolutionary Navy. At Havana international airport, the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy was seen off by the commander of the Cuban Navy and other top-ranking officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. Arnold Kalinin, USSR ambassador to Cuba, was also present.

Economic Agreement Signed With Chile

LD1511051191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Trushin]

[Text] Santiago, 14 Nov (TASS)—The Soviet market presents Chile with great opportunities at present being insufficiently utilized, said Roberto Fantussi, president of the Association of Chilean exporters, today. He was speaking at the signing of an agreement with a similar Soviet organization—the Association of USSR Exporters. The president highly assessed the USSR's potential in human and technical resources and the quality of its exported output.

However, Fantussi pointed out, trade turnover between the two countries remains at a low level. Chile annually exports goods to the Soviet Union amounting to $3 million, while the USSR exports to Chile goods amounting to $21 million. If success could be achieved in reaching the same level of commercial and economic relations with the Soviet side as Chile has with the European Economic Community, Chileans would be able to increase their export potential by 10 percent. This should be facilitated to a considerable extent by the agreement on cooperation between the associations of exporters of the two countries, Fantussi noted.

The document that has been signed provides for the creation of joint enterprises, the exchange of information, study of the USSR and Chile markets, and assistance in the establishment of links between partners belonging to the associations.

The Association of Chilean Exporters groups over 150 mainly private companies and firms in the mining, textiles, footwear, and refining industries. The Soviet association represents 200 enterprises, including such giants as Uralmash and the Novosibirsk Chemical Works.

Supreme Soviet

1991 Budget Deficit To Exceed R204 Billion

PM1411161991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev: "USSR Internal Debts Approaching Trillion Rubles"]

[Text] The session of the country's Supreme Soviet resumed on 12 November after a week's break. The Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union sat separately.

As has been reported, the Soviet of the Union sitting was a day late. Opening it, Yu. Voronezhtsev, who was in the chair, was quick to voice a grievance against an unnamed reputable newspaper that had "wrongly" interpreted the reasons for the chamber's failure to sit the previous day. He did not shrink from using expressions that would not normally be regarded as parliamentary. Grievances aside, Yu. Voronezhtsev said nothing about the real reasons for the cancellation of the chamber sitting, once again leaving journalists to play guessing games....

The entire 12 November morning sitting of the Soviet of the Union was devoted to approving resolutions on changes to chamber committees' memberships. It is expected that in the afternoon the Union parliament will start examining the question of the "30 billion credit." In fact, as expected, it was a matter of somehow legalizing an accomplished fact: The 30 billion was spent in October. On what? This would probably be established during the parliamentary hearings. At the moment one thing is clear: Despite the USSR president's promises to repay the credit before the end of the year, the 30 billion rubles [R] will add to the Union's state internal debt. And it, we were told by Yu. Andreyev, member of the Soviet of the Republics Budget and Finance Committee, citing USSR Control Chamber data, is now around R550 billion and could reach R1 trillion.

The country's state budget deficit is still rising. By year's end, according to Soviet of the Republics Budget and Finance Committee data, it will reach R204,601,000,000. In the last three months of the year the deficit will increase at a considerably faster rate than in the previous nine months. Expenditure on financing social programs is named as one of the reasons for the growing deficit. The republics are not contributing money to the budget for these purposes, although expenditure on social programs was already R4.5 billion. By the end of this year it is assumed that R12.5 billion will have been spent on this. Centralized financing of the USSR national economy (we still have one, apparently) continues. Moreover, we are continuing to help "foreign friends:" Some foreign states have already been given credits worth R1.4 billion. By year's end the figure will almost double. According to Yu. Andreyev, the center can no longer afford this kind of outlay, the bulk of which is needed to prop up its prestige.

Supreme Soviet 'Secret Accounts' Debate Viewed

PM1511103191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Parliamentary observers A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev report: "The Country Cannot Make Ends Meet, while 52 Billion Rubles Are Hidden in Secret Accounts"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA (No. 265) reported for the first time about two secret accounts containing a sum of 52 billion rubles [R]. How will the Union parliament evaluate this fact? We never cease to be amazed at the incredible and unique country in which we live! In any other country, a careless word or thoughtless gesture by a state activist could cost him his job, but in ours....

Tens of thousands of dollars in cash are found in CPSU safes and secret accounts worth tens of billions of anything but worthless rubles come to light—and what happens? Nothing. The main thing in this situation is not to lose your head, but to give a wide-eyed stare and say: Well well, we knew nothing about it—we were told nothing. And those who are answerable not only for themselves but also for the country will get away scot-free.

Neither dismissal, nor impeachment, nor a trial will follow. Because we are kind and liberal at the expense of a poor state and an oppressed people.

This is the way it was and the way it is. But this cannot and should not be this way if we want to scramble out of the pit we have fallen into and if we seek to live as the civilized world has lived for a long time.

Freedom and prosperity have a price. Everything has to be paid for. Especially by those entrusted with the highest state posts. The starting point is a declaration that we no longer want to live like that, and that we can and must instigate a parliamentary inquiry into the "black box" worth R52 billion.

The "30 billion credit" question, it seems, is threatening to develop (but will it?) into the affair of the "underground budget." This became clear during a discussion of the USSR president's appeal to the country's parliament to ratify the decision for the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] to offer credit to the Finance Ministry.

An official statement by A. Orlov, chairman of the USSR Control Chamber, regarding the discovery in the Finance Ministry of two secret accounts worth a total of R52 billion produced an unexpected effect. Union Deputy Finance Minister V. Barchuk was taken ill inside parliament and he left: Earlier still, acting Finance Minister V. Rayevskiy felt unwell and was unable to attend a discussion on this question. Therefore, it fell to P. Kushnarev, chief of the Finance Ministry Budget Administration, and USSR Gosbank Chairman V. Gerashchenko to give the deputies explanations. Kushnarev completely denied the secret origins of this money, saying that it constituted enterprises' working capital which had accumulated in Finance Ministry

accounts since before the war. The money was allegedly in circulation and was accounted for in the Gosbank and the Finance Ministry. V. Gerashchenko called this money a "safety net" in the event of unforeseen circumstances—flood, for example.

It remained merely to wonder what other disasters our statesmen were waiting for if these accounts were left untouched even during the hard times following the Chernobyl accident and the catastrophic earthquake in Armenia?!

The chairman of the country's Gosbank was forced under pressure from the deputies to extend his list of the initiated: apart from the Finance Ministry, the existence of these accounts was known to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers. He explained that these accounts had been opened to accumulate budget surpluses in various years. V. Gerashchenko was almost certain that CPSU activity was not subsidized out of this money, although he indirectly confirmed that this version had not been subjected to the necessary verifications.

These highly vague explanations did not surprise the deputies, especially as the parliamentary dossier contained quite different facts and arguments. Thus A. Orlov, chairman of the USSR Control Chamber, labeled the billions found in the two accounts as "an underground budget" whose existence became known to the Supreme Soviet only after a documentary check. It is significant that following the discovery of these accounts the Finance Ministry and Gosbank no longer granted Control Chamber workers access to documentation in their departments. Therefore, the sources of the funds, including hard currency, movements within the accounts, and the gold reserves were never fully verified. So it has to be suggested that far from all the secrets in this affair have been disclosed.

Proceeding from this fact, the Soviet of the Union Budget and Finance Committee Chairman V. Gubarev analyzed the entire situation which has emerged in the country in connection with the catastrophic Union budget deficit and concluded that there is a need to review the draft emergency Union budget for November-December this year. This proposal was echoed among lower chamber members. A resolution was adopted in which the USSR president recommended that this draft be reviewed at the next State Council session and that proposals be submitted for examination by the country's Supreme Soviet. The question of offering 30 billion in credit to the Union Finance Ministry seemed thus to resolve itself: There is no point in confirming or not confirming something which has already been received and fully spent.

In the evening, the resolution adopted in the Soviet of the Union was submitted for examination by the Soviet of the Republics. The issue proved so complex that its detailed examination will continue on Wednesday.

The lower chamber prepared another question for its colleagues in the Soviet of the Republics, which is expected to be examined in the near future. The Soviet of the Union sent a statement to the upper chamber from a large group of deputies confirming the resignation of USSR General Prosecutor N. Trubin, which was discussed in August by the previous membership of of the country's Supreme Soviet.

Still more news: At the 12 November Soviet of the Republics session observers from the Ukraine attended for the first time.

At the 13 November evening session, V. Rayevskiy, the country's acting finance minister, speaking in the Soviet of the Republics, stated that these billions will go entirely to cover the budget deficit.

During the session many deputies expressed concern over the fate and state of the USSR gold reserves. In this connection V. Rayevskiy confirmed that the figures stated earlier by G. Yavlinskiy of 240 tonnes of gold were close to the truth. He also reported that literally on the eve of the August putsch, the USSR Finance Ministry refused an order from the Union Cabinet of Ministers to transfer a large batch of gold to the jurisdiction of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity to guarantee, as stated in the order, the country's foreign economic activity.

Is the Union parliament satisfied with such explanations?

Political & Social

Union Treaty Discussed in Novo-Ogarevo

No Federation Discussed

LD1411191191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Today in Novo-Ogarevo a session of the heads of states and governments of the former Union republics is taking place to discuss the draft of a political union between them. Our special correspondents report.

[Aleksandr Gerasimov] The work of the State Council is in its fifth hour. The session is taking place behind closed doors, and so we have only the minimum of information. [passage omitted]

What will the new Union be like? No one knows yet. But today it is possible to confirm that they are not talking about a federation. As far as we know today they are also to discuss the issue of the Union Foreign Ministry, the country's extraordinary budget, and the ecological situation. But the agenda remains open so it is not excluded that new topics will arise. [video shows meeting's participants sitting down at table, with Gorbachev at head]

We have just received information that Silayev, Yavlinskiy, Lobov and a number of other comrades—around ten in all—have just arrived in Novo-Ogarevo. It is supposed that they have arrived at the State Council session to be confirmed in their posts on the Interrepublican Economic Committee. After the end of the work of the State Council a news conference will take place. Sergey Slipchenko, Petr Orlov, and Aleksandr Gerasimov in Novo-Ogarevo.

'Agreement in Principle'

LD1411174591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 14th Nov—TASS correspondents have learned that during the session of the USSR State Council which took place today at Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow, they have managed to reach agreement in principle on the Union treaty. According to the treaty the present-day USSR is to be called the Union of Sovereign States [Soyuz Suverennykh Gosudarstv].

Those participating in the session took the view that the treaty will have to fulfill the role of the Constitution of the Union. Participating in the session, which took place under the chairmanship of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, were Boris Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]; Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus; Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan; Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan; Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan; Akbarsho Iskandarov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan; and Sakhat Muradov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia.

Representatives of the Ukraine are not taking part in the session. Mikhail Gorbachev said that it had become clear from a telephone conversation with Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, that the republican legislature had recommended that he should not participate in the discussion of the Union treaty before 1 December—the date of the presidential elections in the Ukraine and a referendum on the question of independence. The president of Armenia is in the United States.

No political draft of recent times has had such a complex, even tragic destiny, as the draft Union treaty. Published in March of this year, the first version of it became the basis for discussion in a preparatory committee which was convened in accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

On 17 June the committee completed work on the document, but the signing of it was disrupted by the August coup attempt. However, as the president of the USSR pointed out on more than one occasion, the Novo-Ogarevo process was not dead, having become an important part of the victory of young Soviet democracy in the anxious days of the revolt.

The importance of the signing without delay of the Union treaty is connected with the fact that its absence "is causing an accelerated disintegration of the fragile structures by which the country is still held together," today's IZVESTIYA says. The Economic Community Treaty which was concluded recently by the sovereign republics cannot by itself resolve many issues. "Economic problems are being held up delayed by Union statehood, or rather its absence," the newspaper observes.

The second important matter that is due to be studied today by the participants in the State Council session is the structure and steering bodies of the Interstate Economic Committee. In addition it is scheduled to consider questions connected with the functioning of the USSR Foreign Ministry and a number of urgent ecological problems.

Treaty Discussion Concludes

OW1411183491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A participant in the State Council meeting at Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow, who asked not to be identified, has told IF [INTERFAX] that "judging by everything, the new Union treaty will be concluded after all."

The discussion of the draft treaty is said to be over. The parties agreed the treaty was in principle ready for signing, although minor corrections were yet to be inserted into its text.

The State Council proceeded to discuss the composition of the Interrepublican Economic Committee and ways of reorganizing the Foreign and Interior Ministries.

IF's correspondent reports that members of the Council agreed that the Union treaty would play the role of a common constitution.

One of the participants said in jest "We've agreed on everything except the signing date—we remember lessons of the recent past all too well."

Other States May Join

LD1411233191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent A. Gerasimov; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The talks in Novo-Ogarevo perhaps can be described as today's main event. The events of 19 August made us forget for a long time about this mansion near Moscow, where a Union treaty was being prepared. We did not handle the chances that emerged after the putsch in the best way; today's politicians are to blame for that, Mikhail Gorbachev said on the eve of today's session of the State Council. Apparently he had himself in mind,

too. Will politicians be able to correct their mistakes today, in Novo- Ogarevo, where they have started an article-by-article discussion of a new version of the Union treaty?

[Gerasimov] The finalization of the treaty was taking place behind closed doors, but we were told that participants in the conference were guided more by their belief in unification than a desire to find any compromise solution at all. Only the title—Treaty on a Union of Sovereign States—is left of the July version of the treaty, which was to have been signed on 20 August. Today, following the August events, the subjects of the Union are, in fact, completely different. The document determines all the attributes of state, from the concept of a new union of republics down to the procedure for forming executive bodies, thereby relieving the current USSR Supreme Soviet from drafting a constitution of the Soviet Union which, it seems, will soon cease to exist. Apparently the conglomeration of republics which is being created will have the name—Union of Sovereign States [SSG]. The issue of the number of states within this Union remains open.

The representatives of only seven republics of the former USSR sat next to President Gorbachev at the State Council today, including Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenia, and Tajikistan. It appears that precisely these republics will become members of the SSG—we will have to get used to this abbreviation. At the same time, a way for other states to join the Union has been thought out. In its form, the new concept of the treaty practically excludes any complications for increasing the number of members.

The first step has been made today. The text of the treaty will be perfected and corrected. Yet another reading at the State Council is envisaged. Some clauses of the document are vague, for the time being. They will be determined by separate accords. For example, the procedure for electing the president of the Union is not clear to date.

Joint News Conference Held

LD1411214591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1908 GMT 14 Nov 91

[News conference with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev; Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic; Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev; Stanislav S. Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet; Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev; Turkmenia Supreme Soviet Chairman Sakhat Muradov; Akbarsho Iskandarov, deputy chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet; and unidentified correspondents in Novo-Ogarevo on 14 November; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Let us have the questions.

[Correspondent] Will there be a Union? INTERFAX-TELE. The first important question. Will there be a Union?

[Gorbachev] Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin], please.

[Yeltsin] Since you are asking me to answer....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] No, let everyone. I don't want.... [Gorbachev changes thought] Everyone should say a few words.

[Yeltsin] It is difficult to say how many states will enter the Union, but after today's discussion, I am firmly convinced that there will be a Union.

[Gorbachev] Please.

[Nazarbayev] Well, you know, Kazakhstan always has been in favor of preserving the Union. Not the one that used to exist, of course, but the one which exists today in reality; that is, the union of sovereign states which are autonomous and equal. And I continue to be in favor of this position. I am expressing the opinion of the majority of the population of our republic. We can see that the economic treaty which we have signed keeps coming up all the time against the absence of a political union. And, therefore, we have got as far as....[changes thought] Today we discussed, in the first approach, after those Ogarevo conferences of ours which you may recall. [as heard] Therefore, in my opinion, it is not worth talking specifically about the text because we expressed criticisms and they need further working on. But, in principle we agreed, as I said previously, that those who wish to be in the Union—and I think that the majority of the population expect this—should join the political union which bears the name: the union of sovereign states.

Whether this will be a confederative or some other sort of union in the final analysis is a question for the future. Therefore, I also consider that those republics which are ready and feel that they cannot extricate themselves without it and that a single market space is needed in the transitional period, should enter the union of sovereign states which are equal in all respects.

[Shushkevich] Well, I would say very briefly that I am convinced that the probability of the formation of a new political union today has increased substantially. I think that there will be a Union.

[Akayev] I also go along with all my colleagues, and I am also fully confident that there will be a Union on a new fundamental basis.

[Gorbachev] Please come forward, my friends.

[Muradov] In holding a referendum recently, Turkmenia recognised the independent state of Turkmenia as democratic. We always have been in favor of the Union, and at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia, which ended yesterday [14 Nov], precisely this question was raised there, and all the deputies are advocating that

the independent state should be a part of a union of sovereign states. So, we are in favor of the Union.

[Iskandarov] The position of Tajikistan has from the very start been in favor of the Union, and following today's discussion a confidence has emerged that there will be a Union, albeit on new foundations and on new principles.

[Gorbachev] Well, what the comrades have been telling you reflects the true process, and I would define it by saying that today we have progressed a long way in the understanding of how we see our future Union today, taking into consideration the opinion of our peoples and all the realities. This idea has been given voice here today, and it has been most apparent that the union of sovereign states will be made up of confederal, democratic states. This emphasizes where its main characteristic lies.

All the rest follows from this, and issues as well as principles of both citizenship and territory have been worked out; it also has been agreed on the basis of what attitudes we must approach the conclusion of the defense union, the economic treaty, and other spheres, too. Today, we have completed the work which was started on 4 November. Was it the fourth? [turning to Yeltsin] At the State Council we supported the new concept and the proposals on the Foreign Ministry, on....[changes thought] We approved the guidelines for the activities aimed at perfecting our Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces. We approved these things. Today, we also confirmed, approved, as a whole, the MEK [mezhgosudarstvennyy economicheskiy komitet—Interstate Economic Committee] for the transitional period, and endorsed Comrade Silayev as the chairman. These are, so to speak, transitional structures. I must say that the issue of what, how they are going to look like, what the role of the republics is going to be, what the new center will have to be like, was discussed in a very profound way. In short, this is a great redistribution of powers. The republics are making up their mind on what can be implemented more effectively at the Union level, in the interests of all the republics, and they are categorically and decisively against revitalizing the old center, in any way, to any degree, under the pressure of any circumstances. I share this position, on the condition, however, that this must, indeed, be an enormous state with efficient authorities, with precisely defined powers, and a true subject of international law, acting, both inside and outside, in the interests of the whole Union. So, I must say, without going into detail, that we have done a good job today, and I welcome my colleagues. I must say, they have had the decisive word to say. I outlined my point of view, made it known in a determined way, and cited some arguments, then they replied in the same way. We made a great deal of progress.

[Yeltsin] We often could not understand you.

[Gorbachev, turning to Yeltsin] Beg your pardon?

[Yeltsin] It often happened that we could not understand you.

[Gorbachev] But later you agreed—this is what is interesting [Gorbachev smiles, and Yeltsin and Akayev are seen smiling and nodding]

[Yeltsin] Yes, we agreed.

[Gorbachev] Yes, well, this is what I think: There was a friendly atmosphere, very responsible work by the people who know that they represent the country, and have to bear the responsibility, and know that we are now confronted with the need to solve problems. Everybody is quite right in saying that without resolving the political issues, the question of the political union, everything, all the reforms, everything will be hampered and will derail. Thank you.

[Correspondent] Could you, if possible, say something about the time frame to conclude the agreement?

[Yeltsin] The main thing, on which, probably, half the time was spent on, was what the Union should be like. That is, either simply a union of sovereign states, not possessing its own state formation, but precisely a union of states, or, nonetheless, a union of sovereign states, with centralized statehood, with state power, that is, precisely states. And what kind of states. Federative ones. Confederative ones, or the third type of those fulfilling certain state functions without the name of state. So, several hours of our discussions went on these concepts—fairly stormy, fairly frank—but three, four, five various compromise solutions were studied and in the end we came to one agreement. A union of sovereign states—a confederative state, fulfilling the functions delegated by state participants in the treaty.

[Gorbachev] Well, I must say that we all have the wish to move this process as quickly as possible, because we all realize that this is necessary, and, at the same time, this is not as simple as cutting wood for the stove. This is something we can all do, and many of us would rather be doing just that, but that's another matter. But, nonetheless, I think that we have agreed that what my colleagues have said must be realized within the framework of the State Council at an expert level. The formulae have almost been carried to their juridical, uh....[changes thought] And also the State Council must then convene, if it agrees, for everyone to initial it. And, after this, the remaining process will proceed. We will calculate it with regard to time, in any case.

[Shushkevich] First, the Supreme Soviets of the republics will examine the treaty and approve it. And then it will come into—if they approve it—then it will come into force after it has been signed by plenipotentiary delegations of the Supreme Soviets of the republics.

[Correspondent] What about the budget? Was it discussed today?

[Gorbachev] We discussed the budget. Well, the budget—you know about the budget and the financial state

of the country, I am not going to give details. You have them in hand. Since you ask the question, you are au courant with all these matters. The situation is extremely difficult. We listened attentively to all the reports from the Finance Ministry, from what remains of the Finance Ministry today, from the Interrepublican Economic Committee, from the State Bank. All the heads of republics participated in this discussion since this concerns the life of the whole country. And, on the basis of the exchange which took place—and this was a very difficult and severe discussion—we took the decision to instruct the leaders and heads of governments with the participation of the chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee to organize this work and within three days to put forward proposals on the budget with the idea of making this budget an emergency one for the remaining period.

[Correspondent] Will it be examined in the Supreme Soviet?

[Gorbachev] Undoubtedly.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, since we are talking about the Union, what is the view of the recent statement which Ter-Petrosyan addressed to you, Boris Nikolayevich, and the president of Kazakhstan?

[Gorbachev] What about?

[Correspondent] About the Azerbaijani boycott.

[Gorbachev] You know, I think this does not come within the framework of today's discusion, although, of course, it is all taking place within the Union and so. All the same, it must be said that the members of the State Council are of the opinion that the political union which is to be set up and an economic space is being formed in which all the rules agreed by these states will be strictly observed. The question will arise of regulating relations with all those which remain outside the political union. Therefore, I think this must be borne in mind.

As for your question about the boycott. We are all now considering it. We have gone into this matter deeply. We want to reduce this confrontation in some way. You know, a start has been made on drawing them together. And the mission with Boris Nikolayevich and Nursultan Abishevich [Nazarbayev], with the participation of all the sides, gave rise to great hopes in us.

You know, there are some people who do not like this. We must bear this in mind. In my opinion what was done then was something major, fundamental, a compromise in the interests of both peoples and both republics. But there are forces in both republics which do not like this. They organize and instigate things and involve others. Then when casualties appear, when we see people dying, then everyone, the Supreme Soviets and the governments are in a difficult position. We will continue, we will continue.

We not only do not consider ourselves free from this, we will all carry on, both the Union and the republics.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich....

[Gorbachev, interrrupting] Well, what? Thank you?

[Correspondent] There are two people missing today, two representatives—of the Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

[Gorbachev] Uzbekistan—you know, I think here it has just simply happened this way. Uzbekistan was supposed to arrive. They are basically taking part in this process. Their stance with regard to the Union is an interesting and active one. But the airplane which turned up there did not fly due to Comrade Karimov Islam Abduganiyevich's state of health. Yesterday he returned from Fergana and, anyway, everything seemed to be okay, but then this happened. Well, that's....[Gorbachev changes thought] As far as the Ukraine is concerned, I already have said at the opening that the standpoint there is that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet does not participate either in the work of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine or in the State Council until the election campaign ends, so as not to use participation in these types of work for his own purposes. But I will say plainly that we are all waiting for the participation of our Ukrainian brothers. Therefore we cannot imagine, and are sure that it will be so. The Ukraine and this people will make its contribution. We are proceeding from this assumption. Thank you. Goodbye.

Gorbachev on New Union

LD1411232891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2138 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev by unidentified correspondent in Novo-Ogarevo on 14 November—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Just a few minutes ago a news conference finished at which you sketched out a new picture that has formed in the republics, in our state. But there are people who exist beyond Novo-Ogarevo. How will they feel the changes that will now appear in the republics, in the country, and in Russia?

[Gorbachev] Well, basically, if I didn't associate this with the process of the conclusion of a new treaty on a union of sovereign states, so that the mechanisms and all legislative and executive authorities could start working on this basis, in order that clarity be imparted—within the framework of the political zone that has been set up—to all the vitally important questions and so that all this in the final analysis should carry through and touch the lives of people in the country, what point would there have been at all in holding such a conversation today? Nonetheless, we have arrived at the conclusion that such a union is necessary and that it must not be some kind of totally amorphous formation. We have come to the conclusion that it is a union of sovereign states—a confederative, democratic state with a certain distribution of powers between the Union center and the republics, where the center and the republics have their roles and their responsibility, not something diffuse, but rigid

and firm. Once we have a single state—a confederative one—that means that there is a territory. There is power on this territory. There is citizenship on this territory. There is an economic market operating on certain principles. Then it is possible to manage the process and create an environment where all people at work will act differently, proceeding from these new agreed upon rules of behavior.

[Correspondent] It is no longer a secret that there are few power functions in the country, few organizations that are capable of, so to speak, exercising authority and acting. Everything seems to be now falling apart. We have been saying for a long time that everybody must implement perestroyka inside oneself. While now we understand that, apart from perestroyka inside oneself, we need power functions that would enforce actions, which are at the moment necessary to many, yes, let us say, to many in the country. If there are now economic agreements, political agreements, is not it the time to show this power?

[Gorbachev] Yes, and to show, you know...I think, we must view the situation realistically. We will not introduce a market in a day, nor would we be able to switch over to market relations in a day. This is a process. There are tasks which we must resolve within the next few months, while further on, this will develop. Now, at present, I think, the most important task is, so to speak, for the authoritative bodies to make decisions and create a juridical basis that provides incentives for the producers—both for a farmer, that is, a private farmer, or a collective farmer, or, indeed, a worker at a state farm, who must now be already working in new conditions, and an industrial worker—and, mind you, both a worker at a small or medium-sized enterprise, which may be privatized within the next few months, or at a large state enterprise, which performs great tasks in our economy, and play a great part, and where an enormous number of workers are concentrated. There also, it must be done so...or rather, with respect to these enterprises, it must be done so, and such laws must be adopted, that the process of including these large labor collectives in the progress of reforms, should start. I think that the first stage is, what we call, commercialization, or lifting state controls. The collectives must be given a chance to control the product, the final product, themselves, as well as part of the profit, and to think of how to earn and to produce more. This is where the most important point is, indeed, the most important point. You see, if we just say: prices must be made free...well, we free the prices, and they immediately rise and become such that everything will be lying on the shop counter—this is, indeed, possible.

But I should say that this may be followed by a different reaction on the part of the working people, who might say what is to be done at these prices?

The main thing is that, if there is no base and if the market is not replenished with goods—and it can only be done on the basis of initiative and enterprise by people—then the freeing of prices by itself will gain nothing. Therefore I submit that the number one priority is that the authorities—and this indeed makes it possible for action in the political union to be coordinated—should create conditions so that all collectives receive powerful productivity incentives. Distribution is a big matter, and therefore it is right that there be big incentives in line with the distribution of work. Nevertheless, there should be active incentives.

[Correspondent] Individual incentives—you are speaking of individual incentives that get the individual working?

[Gorbachev] Yes

[Correspondent] But is some other power possible? After all it is simply essential to get to work on time, leave work on time, and perhaps not go away during work time.

[Gorbachev] Some other power is possible. I think that the market and the destabilization of society dictate more responsibility, more order, and more effort. It is not so easy in our society to accomplish this. For years we have had this levelling psychology, for years there has been the psychology of not taking particular responsibility for anything and letting the authorities do the thinking, and this has excluded our people. That is, the system and people were switched off. Therefore all of this needs to be revised.

But at the same time along with measures stimulating responsible work one must not rule out quite simply discipline and order. Indeed there is still part of society that acts in contravention of the law. Here there is a need for criminal measures, moreover resolute measures. All of this needs to be combined. One must not be frightened of this. During difficult periods in any state executive power must be firm.

If we do not do this...if we do not achieve and do not create such a situation in society now...and I believe that the political treaty should open the way for just this—for if the fingers are all splayed out, [meaning that a clenched fist has more strength than splayed fingers] you know, there would be twelve internal policies, or eight or twelve foreign policies, or eight...well, I think there is no need to take this any further. But a political union offers just such a possibility.

If we fail to do this, then instead of a putsch, we will have an even worse situation, and then that situation would dictate even harsher measures being taken. All, or many of the things won by the democrats would be overthrown and they could even be suspended. We do not want this to happen, so we need to act now. This is why I say that we need a treaty. Delay now could be fatal.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. I think that today you have taken the very step which has not only brought the treaty closer, but which has actually made it, therefore, thank you very much.

[Gorbachev] I must say, I must say that in principle, I am satisfied with the work that has been done over these hours. For there were only the members of the State Council along with a few experts who had prepared material present. There was a direct, frank discussion. Everyone of us appreciated that all of us had already been affected by fresh air from the outside compelling us to act. It was this which defined things. Although everything took place in this building, everything going on outside this building was the main factor and the main feature in this discussion. I think this is why our work has been so fruitful this time since everyone now understands that resolutions and progress are needed.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much, and once more, I would like to congratulate you on this success.

[Gorbachev] Let us hope that this will go down as a great day.

Yeltsin 'Not Entirely Satisfied'

OW1411211591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 4"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After the end of the news conference, IF's [INTERFAX] reporter asked Boris Yeltsin to comment on the State Council session's results. The Russian president said he was not entirely satisfied with the session, since "we had to make more concessions than expected." He suggested that the republics should be given greater independence, although that was a goal to be worked for on a stage-by-stage basis.

Akayev on Council Session

LD1511110891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0608 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Interview with Aksar Akayev, president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, by political observer Yuriy Semenov—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Semenov] Once more, good morning! Well, Aksar Akayevich, you are here for the first time as president of the sovereign independent Kyrgyzstan.

[Akayev] Very pleased.

[Semenov] Well, for us conversations with you are nothing new. You have taken part in the Mayak program and my colleagues have always willingly talked with you. Thank you also because, although you were invited late last night, you are here with us already, so early in the morning. Well, let us say immediately that your arrival in Moscow this time is connected with participation in a great event which will take place today, isn't it?

[Akayev] Yes. It is a very important session of the State Council today, at which several major issues concerning the arrangement of our Union will be examined. Primarily, this concerns a new version of the Union treaty which was not signed, but disrupted by the August anticonstitutional coup. It has been radically reworked and today the first discussion of the new edition of the treaty on a new Union will be held.

[Semenov] Aksar Akayevich, I remember that at one time you seriously criticized one of the previous versions of a draft Union treaty. And that made the headlines here.

[Akayev] So, now the situation is different, and the draft is a different one.

[Semenov] How do you evaluate the situation on a nationwide scale?

[Akayev] Uh, I think that you are quite right. The situation in the country today has changed radically and I see the future Union as a union of equal, independent, and sovereign states. And I have always been consistent in this standpoint. And when I came across norms and principles in drafts which did not accord with this, then I did, indeed, make fundamental critical remarks. But today we do indeed have the chance to create our Union on a fundamentally new basis, and there are no forces today which could prevent this in the way that they prevented the signing of the version of the treaty which was prepared for 20 August this year.

I am looking at today with optimism. I think that today's discussion will demonstrate what prospect there is for signing a new Union treaty, and what the fundamental principles are for the basis of this treaty. That is, the most vital question here is concerned with what our Union will be like—either it will be federate, or it will be confederate, or there will be elements in it of both a federate and confederate structure, and, perhaps, also some kind of elements of community, so as to embrace the maximum possible number of former Union republics.

Well, in a word, of course, the structure of the whole treaty of a new Union depends on this. [passage omitted on Semenov reading out telephone numbers for questions. He then turns to Akayev for his view of economic union]

[Akayev] The second important question which will be studied at the State Council today is the bodies which will service the Economic Community Treaty already signed so far by ten republics, and in particular the structure and leading bodies of the Interrepublic Economic Committee.

I think that the signing of the Economic Community Treaty is the first good harbinger of the integration of the economies of the former Union republics, and I believe that this treaty will help us to stabilize the economy of the country and already next year lead to its improvement. But I really think that, of course, we must project our program of economic development, of economic

reforms, in conjunction with the radical program of economic reforms adopted by Russia and announced by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the Russian president, at the last session...[corrects himself] uh, at the last Congress of the Russian People's Deputies. [passage omitted on Semenov remarks on the number of listeners' phonecalls on the Kyrgyz economic situation]

I have to say that our main objective and the main instrument of our state policy in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan is interethnic concord and civic peace. I am convinced that if we do not have peace, do not have accord in interethnic relations, then we will not be able to put any political transformations into operation, let alone radical economic reforms.

Therefore, this is perhaps the highest priority area of our state policy of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. I have to say that over the past year we have in many respects improved interethnic relations and they have taken a turn for the better. [passage omitted]

You mentioned the fact that 95 percent of the population—citizens of the republic taking part in the elections, national elections of the president of the republic—cast their votes, demonstrates precisely that we have somehow managed to achieve an improvement in interethnic relations, to achieve some degree of interethnic concensus. Otherwise, we would have received a lot of negative votes. [passage omitted, including Semenov, noting that Kyrgyzstan is preparing a law originally entitled "On the protection of the rights and freedoms of ethnic minorities", now changed after Akayev's further thought to "On the ethnic rights of the citizens of Kyrgyzstan".]

I am a supporter of the renaissance and strengthening of religion, in the very aspect of the strengthening of the morality and ethics of our society, but I am an out-and-out opponent of any maximalism, including religious fanaticism, including Islamic fundamentalism, which may indeed represent a threat to our newly created democratic institutions of authority and democratic, law-based, civil society in our region. [passage omitted on Semenov listing questions received on Russians in Kyrgyzstan]

Today I assess the state of Slavic-speaking peoples, and indeed all the peoples living in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan as...[changes thought] I would say that they do not have grounds for worry about their present and their future." [passage omitted noting that a law has just been passed on the protection of ethnic rights; names several Russian ministers in the Kyrgyzstan Government. A law on the privatization of housing has just been passed, Akayev was granted an audience with George Bush which lasted more than 20 minutes and a talk with James Baker, which Akayev sees as the first step on the road to recognition of the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. Akayev quotes Roosevelt on the Four Freedoms. Finally, Semenov asks about TV and radio in Kyrgyzstan]

Both as a member of the State Council, and, I would like to add, as a specialist in the information technology sphere, I consider that information structures are extremely important in the modern world, for without information today...[changes thought] perhaps, I think, today information stands in first place together with power engineering, together with food problems, so therefore I would consider that we definitely have to preserve such common Union information centers, and I personally will support the preservation of such Union-wide information centers—of course, financed from the common budget.

[Semenov] Esteemed listeners, on your behalf and from myself from the bottom of my heart, I sincerely thank our guest, Aksar Akayevich Akayev, the president of Kyrgyzstan. I hope that this is not the last time that you will visit our studio and that such meetings with you and your colleagues from the other republics will become a tradition. Thank you.

Main Clauses of Treaty Issued

OW1511131591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1140 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the request of INTERFAX subscribers we issue a synopsis of the main clauses of the draft Union treaty obtained by this agency through unofficial channels.

The new version of the Union treaty defines the republics constituting the Union of Sovereign States (USS) as sovereign states. The Union is to be a democratic confederative state exercising authority within limits ceded to it by the constituent states which determine independently their national, state, administrative, and territorial systems, their government structures.

Under the draft treaty the USS acts on the international scene as a sovereign state succeeding the former USSR. Its constituent states are full-fledged subjects of international law with a right to establish their diplomatic, consular and trade links with foreign countries.

The relations between the sovereign states in the Union are regulated by the present treaty and by such other treaties and agreements that are compatible with it.

The states in the Union pledge to refrain from the use of force or threat of such in their relations and from claims on each other's territorial integrity. They are never to enter any agreements contradicting the Union's aims.

The Union of Sovereign States has joint Armed Forces with central control of strategic defence including the nuclear missiles .

The draft treaty grants the constituent states a right to set up their republican armed units. The aims and ways to use the joint Armed Forces, also their own competence in defence, are regulated by an appropriate agreement.

Armed Forces are not to be used within the country except in case of natural or ecological disasters (the clause is still subject to further negotiations, as agreed in the State Council)

The draft treaty provides in the members' economic interests for the following agreements: on an economic community, on joint defence and collective security, on coordinating programmes in science and technology, culture, energy, transport, communications, education, and combating crime.

The constituent states delegate to the Union some of their powers, the Union can delegate some of them to one of several members, within its competence.

The states give the Union such property that is necessary to exercise the above povers. This is to be joint property to be used in common interests, including the development of backward areas.

The use of land, mineral deposits and other natural resources in the realisation of the Union powers is to be kept within the legal framework of the constituent states.

The Union budget is subject to a special agreement.

The Union laws are passed on issues in the Union competence. They are valid throughout the Union territory. A member-state can protest and even suspend a Union law on its territory if it violates the present Treaty. Disputes are resolved through an agreement procedure.

The draft treaty defines the structure of the Union Supreme Soviet and its state bodies. The quotas of the republics in the Supreme Soviet are to be specified.

Under the draft treaty the head of the confederation is the Union president who guarantees the compliance with the Union treaty and its laws. He is also commander in chief of the joint Armed Forces and represents the Union in foreign relations monitoring the implementation of the Union international commitments. The President is elected by the citizens of the Union for a 5 year term, and not more than two terms running.

He runs in a team with his Vice President who carries out some of the president's functions and acts for him if he is unable to perform his duties.

The Union's State Council is set up to coordinate decisions of internal and external policies affecting common interests. The Council includes the President and the supreme leaders of the member-states. The State Council's activities are defined by the appropriate law.

The executive pover is exercised by the Union government under the Union president and responsible to the Union Supreme Soviet.

The Union Supreme Court acts as a constitutional court, as an interrepublican court protecting the citizens' rights and freedoms, considers agreements within its competence between the member- states, also civil criminal cases of interrepublican nature, and is the highest court of appeal for military tribunals. The Supreme Court is formed by the president and each chamber of the Supreme Soviet on a parity basis. The chairmen of the member-states' supreme courts are automatically in the Union Supreme Court.

The Union High Arbitrating Court resolves economic disputes between member-states, also conflicts between enterprises from different member-states.

The Union Prosecutor-General and his counterparts in the member- states are to supervise over the implementation of Union legal acts. The Union Prosecutor-General is appointed by the Union Supreme Soviet and is responsible to it.

Russian is to be the language of inter-state communication.

Moscow is the capital of the Union.

The Union has its state colours, coat-of-arms, and anthem.

The present treaty or some of its clauses can be repealed or modified and supplemented only with the agreement of all constituent states.

The Union of Sovereign States inherits all the rights and duties under international areements of the foroer USSR as per moment of signing the present Treaty.

The Treaty is to be approved by the state bodies of the Union members and comes into force upon being signed by fully authorized delegations. The 1922 USSR Treaty loses its force from the same moment.

No Date Yet for Signing

OW1511040491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2214 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" for "November 15, 1991"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The draft of the new Union treaty was approved in principle at a session of the USSR State Soviet on Thursday [14 November]. Delegates from Uzbekistan, Moldavia, the Ukraine and Georgia did not attend. Describing the new Union, President Gorbachev said that it should be a "conservative, democratic state". It has already been decided that the confederation shall be called "The Union of Sovereign States".

The next stage is for the observations made by those attending the session to be included in the draft Treaty, after which it will be submitted for the approval of the Supreme Soviets of the sovereign states Only then will it be signed by their authoritative representatives. No date has been set for the signing of the Treaty.

Shaposhnikov on Outcome

LD1511163291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1551 GMT 15 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Nov (TASS)—"Although there was no direct discussion of military issues at the USSR State Council session held on Thursday [14 Nov] in Novo-Ogarevo, the decisions made by this body on 4 November this year were again confirmed," Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR Minister of Defense, told a TASS correspondent in an interview today. According to him, "The concept of the unity of the Armed Forces in contemporary conditions" has been reconfirmed. This is in order: In the country, over decades, a united defense and airspace area has been created, as have a united infrastructure and system for training and recruiting troops. "It is dangerous to destroy all this overnight," Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stressed. "Some republics think that if the Armed Forces are split, then all economic difficulties will be resolved by themselves. But this is absurd," he said. Along with this, the minister noted, it was acknowledged as being necessary to take account of the processes taking place in the country. "In connection with this, a resolution was adopted on establishing a consultative council of the defense ministers of the sovereign states was adopted at the State Council session. In their turn, the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces will assist the republics in the formation of structures which are to be occupied with defense issues," the military chief stated. After their creation, "The right to be in charge of civil defense, military departments, defense associations and military registration and enlistment offices will be delegated to them," he pointed out. The creation of republican guards on the basis of the MVD internal forces, which are to be made up of people already serving their compulsory military service in the armed forces, is also envisaged.

"The results of the State Council session in Novo-Ogarevo are viewed with optimism in the Armed Forces," the USSR minister of defence stated in conclusion.

State Council Backs Ministry Changes

LD1511120691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] According to a decision made by the USSR State Council, staffing levels of the USSR Ministry of External Relations will be halved compared to the joint staffing levels of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, which is now being abolished, and of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is now being reorganized.

This was stated by Foreign Minister Boris Pankin today. He noted that the USSR State Council backed the decision of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the reorganization of the structure and functions of this Union ministry and on its transformation into the Ministry of External Relations. According to Pankin the Ministry of External Relations will be in charge of issues of foreign policy and foreign economy. The new ministry will develop and implement a unified foreign policy on behalf of the Union and the sovereign states. It will coordinate its activites with the latter at sittings of the Council of foreign affairs ministers and foreign relations ministers. According to Pankin, the apparatus of foreign missions will be considerably cut back. Trade missions will be abolished. It is expected that departments of foreign policy attached to Union embassies will be created instead.

This information was supplied by the INTERFAX agency.

Economic Questions Require Political Solutions

Yavlinskiy Comments

LD1511012291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Interview with economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by correspondent Valeriy Kiosa after the meeting of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy, on 14 November—recorded]

[Text] [Kiosa] Several questions being discussed right now by the members of the State Council were also considered today by the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. The meeting was held behind closed doors. All that is known is that questions about the country's budgetary system and the preparation of agreements to go with the Economic Treaty were discussed. Immediately after the meeting, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev and several other leaders of the committee left for Novo-Ogarevo. Before that, I asked two specialists, whose competence is well known, to answer a few questions. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy described the situation in the country's economy:

[Yavlinskiy] In recent times, what we have been observing was a process whereby the economy worked through inertia, using those resources that it had. Our analysis shows that the reserve of inertia is coming to an end. The resources are nearly exhausted. Economic links are all in a lamentable state. This is shown by the fact that, as of today, only 17 percent of contracts have been concluded. At this time last year, the figure was 33 to 34 percent. We thought that was very bad. Everyone can appreciate the extent to which it was bad. Analysis shows that a whole series of priority questions, such as the budget, the monetary system, the financial system, the credit system, the financing of social programs, both those that used to exist and those that are new, have not been settled in principle either in the republics or on the level of the proposed community. All this will come to an end most likely by January or February.

[Kiosa] At the last State Council session, which I also attended, Yavlinskiy said that in order for all these

questions to be solved, the views of economists are not enough. Purely political decisions also have to be made. These decisions were not made at the last State Council session. The call was not heard. I asked him if he thinks it was heard today.

[Yavlinskiy] We have prepared a list of questions requiring an immediate political solution. They are questions such as how a bank will function and how the servicing of the external debt will function, since external debt is something that affects all supplies. It is a matter of that tiny thread that we still have left and through which our country gets medicines for the elderly and for children, and the food for which we so ardently hope. If it collapses, if the thread snaps, then it is like an egg: If an egg is broken, you can not stick it together again. All these questions have been prepared. Options for solutions have been provided. The arguments have been made, and a memorandum has been drafted, which I signed on behalf of the State Council and all the leaders of the republics, saying that, if these questions are not resolved, then the responsibility for everything that is about to happen, and that is happening, will lie directly with the leaders of the republics and the USSR president. I think that at today's session, if the leaders of the republics and the USSR president at least name a date, within a week, when these questions will be resolved, that will be a good start.

[Kiosa] There are 45 days left before the new year. Do we have time?

[Yavlinskiy] That is a matter of the leaders' political seriousness over the questions. When a loaf of bread already costs five rubles, if these arguments fail to impress. then no additional arguments can be thought up.

Resignations Threatened

LD1511015291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] While key political problems were being solved today at Novo-Ogarevo, in Moscow today, at a session of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy, an action program was being drawn up for keeping the economy afloat. Evidently, tough demands were formulated. With these demands in hand, leaders of the committee left later for Novo-Ogarevo for the State Council session.

[Begin recording] [Reporter S. Suntsov] The session took place behind closed doors. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's position is that the problems remaining among the republics must not get in the way of preparing agreements of vital importance to all the members of the community. The absence of agreements in the sphere of finance, prices, and the servicing of the foreign debt carries the threat of final collapse.

[G.A. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy] I propose that we decide immediately at the State Council some five to seven main issues, such as the budget, deciding social programs, defense, and a number of other issues such as banking. Without solving these problems, we indeed will be faced with complete disintegration of all economic ties, not only in our own country, but also in the republics. This would lead to a very unfortunate denouement.

[Suntsov] Serious hopes are being pinned, Yavlinskiy says, on the speeding up of economic reforms in Russia.

[Yavlinskiy] The key question now is that it is necessary to clarify the gist of the reforms concretely, in detail, for all the republics, so that they may take their stand on to what extent and in what form they will participate in those reforms. After that, it will be clear what can be done.

[A.I. Volskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy] The processes of collapse are especially characteristic of recent days, especially in the economy. Today the committee unanimously decided that, if the State Council does not make the decisions that are needed and necessary, the members of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy will announce their resignations. [end recording]

Gorbachev Meeting With Trade Unionists Viewed

'Ultimatums' Made

PM1511121591 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 15 Nov 91 pp 1,2

[Report by A. Yurkov: "Turning, Or Overturning. The People Voted for the Union. Why Are Republic Leaders Pulling It Down in the People's Name?"]

[Text] M. Gorbachev tried in Novo-Ogarevo yesterday to persuade the leaders of the sovereign republics to sign the Union treaty.

A day earlier he told trade union leaders: If you are really defending working people's interests, make your governments back Russian reforms and carry out the will of the peoples who voted to keep a renewed Union.

It was like this. Vladimir Shcherbakov, head of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions, went up to the microphone as if he owned it and in his usual way read out a brief prepared document in the form of an ultimatum. He made some sound demands on behalf of all trade unions as a whole and of each and every trade union member individually...

About the market.

About wages and free prices.

About preferential social protection.

About pensions and the pension fund.

About property that working people do not have the wherewithal to buy.

About humanitarian aid: Well-wishers and patrons abroad do not know to whom to send this aid.

And, needless to say, about the rights of trade unions which...

M. Gorbachev heard out Shcherbakov without interrupting. He took a close look at the faces of the people sitting around the long "conference" table in the presidential office and meditated. One after the other, they went up to the microphone and added to the big boss' major ultimatum their own, somewhat smaller and more modest, mini-ultimatums depending on who represented what—a republic or a sector. Although what difference does it make now who dictates to the president of a great country when the country as such no longer exists, and...

I would like to stop here and beg the reader's indulgence to ask the following question: What do we have? Instead of a great and mighty power maintained by missile warheads, tank armor, and the submissiveness of law-abiding citizens? Do we have proud, free, prosperous sovereign states augmenting their wealth and economic independence through effective and highly productive labor? It was not poverty that we actually wanted as we cherished our dreams in our sleeping and waking moments.

Certainly not! Regrettably, we have been reduced to tears and poverty. Pride has given way to arrogance, freedom to rally-induced anarchy that has already ended in savage mob law, and productive emancipated labor to continuous cigarette breaks: Free nations and peoples are boycotting one another's supplies although they have also sworn eternal friendship and mutual assistance, renouncing the hated center for ever. These oaths are being ratified with the signatures of the people's leaders. But no one calls them perjurers; they are respectfully glorified as presidents, premiers, and so on.

Only what is the people's role in this? They wanted a better life for everyone. They were simply duped just as they have always been duped. They trusted Gorbachev and followed him into perestroyka without a backward glance—in search of a better lot for themselves, their children, and their grandchildren. A better one! And they had to slog their guts out in order to achieve this—at the machine bench, the joiner's bench, the drafting board, and the computer; there is no other way, the other way is a fraud.

The fraud proved more alluring and more obvious: They have a president, we too will have one; they have a general prosecutor, we will have a more general prosecutor; they have missiles, we will have bombs. A big bomb! They have the law, we will have something more lawful... As if presidents and bombs create the glory, might, and greatness of a power. As if a tremendous amount of blather can take the place of the tremendous amount of work involved in leading a human life.

But a tremendous, mammoth fight for power with no regard for any laws of decency did replace the tremendous amount of work. Power for an individual, a group, a clan, or a party, but still power. An all-out struggle [for power] over one-sixth of the globe took its place.

That was the beginning of the bloody harvest of cynical politicians who deceived the people and diverted them from the constructive goals of perestroyka. Considering that all of us now spend more on keeping politicians of various ranks than on some social programs. They have gotten their way—they have taken workers' apartments and set up house there themselves, hypocritically sympathizing with people waiting in the line which they have bypassed and with people's tears. I think that hardly anyone can be taken in now by claims that it was the people who took up arms against their neighbor, be it in Karabakh, Tskhinvali, or Dubossary. No, it was the usual political wheeler-dealers who share out and pave the way to power, or remove their rivals. Amid the thoughtless rivalry the people just pick up the tab. Even transatlantic teetotalers are trying to make us see reason: Come to your senses, every small farm in your country has its own Karl Marx, this is no way to do business, and there is no point in our dealing with leaders, they are only professionals at rallies.

So do we have a great power today? I would like to think so. It is just in a pretty bad way like a beautiful woman who has been left on the shelf: There are so many suitors that she cannot resist. And every smoothy is good-looking too. But, as we know, weddings come to an end, honeymoons pass, and then comes the time to think about children: The time to prepare the diapers, matinee jackets, and the cradle and to lay down a legacy. In short, a routine job. I think that we are now going through the period when we have to take a sober look at the suitors and the kind of legacy we are putting by for our descendants. And see whether these suitors are capable of tackling the routine with us. The work, that is. Only then will it become clear whether we are a great country and a mighty power—when we start to provide ourselves with food, drink, clothes, and footwear.

It is not a bomb that makes a nation great, nor a president nor the area covered by the country, but supplies of glowing pies and red shoes. Incidentally, the first great Russian Marxist economist, Ivan Kalita, was aware of that.

These are the ideas that came to mind within the gray—as we respectfully said in the preperestroyka days—Kremlin walls while I was listening to speakers pouring their hearts out into the microphone in the usual way.

"We must stop persecuting kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhoz directors while they are providing us with food."

"We must retain Union-wide public health structures: Neither plague nor cholera give way to sovereignties..."

"We must ban mines from selling coking coal abroad—they are getting $20-22 for it. Let us sell coke—we can get up to $100 per tonne."

"We must keep the Ministry of Communications and you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, as president and commander in chief, must realize the importance of this department."

"Why are there holdups in trade? Because we have pulled down the USSR Ministry of Trade. It must be defended, as president you must do that."

And here Mikhail Sergeyevich could not contain himself:

"No way! This is perhaps the sole central structure to which all the republics concertedly and absolutely object..."

And then he asked those present the main question, in my view, for which he had come to this meeting with trade union bosses:

"So you want to go into reverse? Back to the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]?! No, the way back is closed. And there's no time."

"There are no resources either," chipped in the precocious Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, continuing the dialogue. "And are these the questions trade union leaders should be asking the country's president? Do they really not understand the kind of world we live in? If you need such-and-such a ministry—tell the governments of your own sovereign republics, let them propose to the president at the next sitting of the State Council that such a department be retained or formed anew. Otherwise, it is the diktat of the center over again."

"As Boris Nikolayevich is now proposing to establish a statewide ecological structure," Mikhail Sergeyevich added, "although until quite recently everyone objected to such a department. Life forces us to revise our attitudes."

"Either we will make a single economic policy," Yavlinksiy went on, "or every republic will make its own. And then, two to three months later, a pensioner will arrive at the post office for his pension—if the post office is still there—and no one will have transferred his pension to him. The pension fund will have run out of money."

Knowledgeable people gathered in this office, not to intimidate one another but to seek a way out. Even though, I repeat, ultimatums were issued. And at a certain point in the discussion Mikhail Gorbachev reacted.

"We have learned to issue ultimatums," he said. "And supposing the trade unions lead the people out onto the streets..."

"As if people need the trade unions' help to turn out," Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy retorted...

"...And what will you do the next day? The putschists declared a coup and brought out the troops, but in the morning they woke up..."

The president spoke frankly and as usual voiced his thoughts aloud, which is what he had invited his interlocutors to do from the very outset of the discussion.

"If the trend toward disintegration intensifies," he said with concern, "it could end up with our being told one day to release the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency so that they can impose order. And the policy of isolationism, whose adherents are gathering strength in some republics, is pushing toward just such an end. Look at the way the presidential contenders are being leaned upon in the Ukraine. There are powerful forces in Russia too, pushing it along the isolationist route. And they cite the opinion of the people in doing so. But the latest polls show that an ever-increasing number of people in the country are disturbed by the trend toward the disintegration of the Union. The overwhelming majority of respondents in Moscow, Kiev, Belarus, Russia, and other republics are in favor of retaining it. Why? Because its disintegration has primarily hit the producers and has paralyzed the work of both state and privately owned enterprises.

"The country has no option but to adopt the program of the Russian reformists and start building a new life on its basis. Yes, the program proposed by Boris Nikolayevich and his team is more akin to an optimistic tragedy, but there is no other realistic program in the country. And the country does not have the time. Support for Russia's course is a step toward erecting the scaffolding for our fledgling state. But only build! Any other form of 'support and approval' will merely be sabotage in disguise.

"We have no future other than united. Not under under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, but at the behest of common sense and the great need of the people. As of yesterday only 17 percent of deliveries contracts for 1993 had been concluded. Who are we trying to kid with our conceited sovereignties? This 17 percent take-up is a slipknot on the scrawny, scraggy neck of the economy. Both in the country as a whole and in each individual republic.

"So those who remain alone, given this 17 percent, are done for."

The conclusion from all this is simple. Let me repeat what was said in Mikhail Gorbachev's office as a request by the president, as the common opinion of the trade unions, and as a warning: If the trade unions really express the will of the people and are backed by the truly indomitable force of the country's working people and

labor collectives, they must help save the country and our future. Powerful support from below is also needed by the Russian reformists to implement their program for extrication from the crisis, it is also essential for President M. Gorbachev and his team if the country is finally to achieve political stability. And with it the belief and trust of fellow-citizens in one another. Without ultimatums.

TRUD's View of Proceedings

PM1511140191 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by political observer V. Golovachev: "Last-Ditch Discussion. Trade Unions Do Not Want Social Explosion—Kremlin Meeting With Country's President Confirms It"]

[Text] The meeting in the Kremlin 13 November between the leaders of the General Confederation of Trade Unions [GCTU], sectorial trade unions, a number of trade union associations, and the country's president was held in an atmosphere of frank, sometimes very tough and scathing, but generally constructive dialogue. The meeting took place at the request of sectorial trade unions and was prompted, as GCTU Chairman V. Shcherbakov, who spoke at it, said, by the fact that the situation in many sectors and regions has deteriorated out of sight. Living standards for tens of millions of people are falling rapidly, people are tumbling into the abyss of poverty, and the economic crisis is verging on a state of collapse.

The need to switch to market relations is obvious, the trade union center leader said. But this switch must go further than merely liberalizing prices, it must go hand in hand with an entire package of market mechanisms, primarily measures for people's social protection. The speaker stressed that it would be a terrible tragedy for everyone if the masses, reduced to despair, were to come out in the streets. This will not only herald the end of democracy, but we will be thrust back into the totalitarian past. Everything must be done to avoid such a turn of events.

There is still a chance today to resolve the highly acute problems in our life in a civilized manner. If we are all convinced of the need for a single economic space, a single social space should also be created, without which progress is inconceivable, in the trade union leader's opinion. It is a question of the requisite minimum social guarantees and social protection that must be ensured throughout all the states that conclude the Economic Community Treaty.

That was, I think, the main aim of the meeting—to ask the country's president, and through him the State Council, to ensure that the leaders of the sovereign republic states consider within the next few days the documents on social guarantees for citizens of the Economic Community's member states prepared with the trade unions' most direct involvement. The country's president has a special role and responsibility in putting these questions forward for discussion.

Throughout October and November plenums were held at all trade union membership organizations. On behalf of these organizations and on behalf of the GCTU, the GCTU leader declared that, unless acts on social protection for people are adopted in the near future, the trade unions will not back the proposed reforms. Trade union leaders realize that this may put the governments of the sovereign states in a very difficult position, but the trade unions have alternative today unless at least minimal social guarantees are provided.

Prices are soaring rapidly without waiting to be "officially" liberalized. The price of potatoes and cabbages in Moscow's state stores has risen by factors of 25 and 20 respectively. And another "gift" for the Muscovites is that black bread costs 3.5 rubles [R] and white bread R5.

As we can see, a price race is already under way and the pay of millions and millions of working people cannot keep up with these prices. Many people are saying today: The population's income is rising very rapidly and this will devalue the ruble. But whose income is rising? That of workers, physicians, and teachers? That of large families? Statistical averages are deceptive. In Russia alone some three million people have an average per capita income of under R100 per month—they are effectively rotting in poverty.

That is why trade unions are demanding that all restrictions on wages be lifted immediately and indexing introduced—even though not fully, and maybe not for all categories of the population, but there must be at least minimum shock absorbers in the transition to the market.

The trade unions' stance on privatization was clearly set out. All housing occupied by citizens should be distributed free of charge within the limits of unified state norms. But the interests of the labor collective must be observed above all in industrial privatization. If the labor collective decides to privatize an enterprise, it should receive preferential credit from the state. Otherwise commercial banks will simply smother a labor collective with interest charges.

It was suggested on behalf of the trade unions that an organ be set up under the USSR State Council to especially tackle social problems countrywide. And also to ensure that trade unions take part in the State Council's work.

Questions of improving the health of people affected by the Chernobyl accident were raised bluntly at the meeting

As for the food problem, in the opinion of the trade unions, a unified state norm for the most essential foodstuffs must be introduced. The intention is to establish a list of the most essential foodstuffs which must be sold at fixed affordable prices.

It was stressed that trade unions reserve the right to adequately respond to events and to use all the means at their disposal, including even the most resolute means, to uphold working people's interests.

The meeting was addressed by GCTU Deputy Chairman V. Kuzmenok, and by leaders of sectoral trade unions (aviation, defense, mining and metallurgy, public health, communications, trade, geology, and fishery), three republic (the Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Azerbaijan) trade union associations, and the "Consolidation" International Trade Union Confederation. Regrettably, no one from the Russian trade union leadership attended the meeting although the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia was sent an invitation. Frankly speaking, this seemed strange since Russian trade unions are an influential force and it would have been very useful for them to take part in this meeting.

The discussion touched on a broad range of topics. But here is what was noticeable to the naked eye, so to speak: Not all the trade union leaders grasp present-day realities, some still rely on the omnipotence of the center which, by ancient tradition, had to be addressed with various requests. Quite often conservative notes were sounded, there were signs of nostalgia for the old days even though on the whole there were more business-like proposals. On some questions the positions of the president and the trade union leaders were very close, on others the difference was more noticeable.

"We are very worried," A. Tarasenko, chairman of the Council of the All-Union Federation of Geological, Geodesic, and Cartographical Workers Unions, said, "that market relations are already becoming part of our life but the social protection system is markedly lagging behind."

"It is said that the strongest, most powerful system of social protection consists of producing as much as possible," M. Gorbachev replied. "It is necessary to give commodity producers economic freedom..."

The president's idea is understandable: Before you can sell pies first you have to bake them. There is no arguing with that. But it is also true that a market without the minimum social guarantees will be like a powder keg. It is no coincidence that, as already reported, the first sitting of the new Russian government chaired by B. Yelstin is due to discuss a package of documents guaranteeing social protection to broad strata of the population during the liberalization of prices.

A. Nazeykin, chairman of the Federation of USSR Communications Workers Unions, spoke in a different vein. He talked about the impermissibility of destroying the single communications system in the country and about the ill-considered elimination of the union ministry. And at the end he unexpectedly asked the president:

"You often say: 'I am committed to socialist ideas.' What socialist ideas, specifically?"

As he left the rostrum, A. Nazeykin handed Mikhail Sergeyevich a letter containing the federation's proposals and requests.

"What are these, questions about socialism?" M. Gorbachev asked, trying to keep a straight face.

I do not think that there is any need to comment on this "eloquent" dialogue. Let readers draw their own conclusions.

G. Yavlinskiy, the well known economist and member of the USSR President's Political Consultative Council, reflected on the trade unions' role in the new conditions. By way of an example, he used the problem of the Communications Ministry which Nazeykin had raised.

"You, the trade unions, realize that a single Communications Ministry is necessary," Grigoriy Alekseyevich said. "How should events develop in that case? The trade unions raise this question in the republics. The republic leaders, if they agree, turn to the president of the country and say: This is how it is, we need a Union Ministry of Communications, we are prepared to finance it... And the question is settled. But now everything is completely different, you are beginning from the center... It is necessary to know who is resolving which questions today, what the power structure is like, in short, what to say and in which offices to say it..."

Yavlinskiy and virtually all the speakers alike paid special attention to the problem of the single economic space and the disintegration of economic ties. As of today only 17 percent of economic contracts between enterprises have been concluded for next year (and at an interrepublic level the figure ranges between three and seven percent). This is very alarming. The Economic Treaty has been signed by 10 states but there are several very important questions which are not being resolved and without which the single economic space will not function. Indeed, many provisions of the treaty already signed are not being fulfilled. Unless the situation changes, according to G. Yavlinskiy's prediction, there will be economic collapse as early as the middle of next January. A. Volskiy's prediction is harsher still: If disintegration continues the collapse will occur in the first few days of January.

In the face of this impending disaster, all organizations, social movements, and, first and foremost, the trade unions must make the maximum effort to avert such tragic consequences. "We, the trade unions, can put major pressure on the republic governments so that they finally come together and reach agreement," V. Kuzmenok said at the meeting. "Of course, it is necessary to be ready for a clash with, for example, Rukh in the Ukraine, and in other republics there are those who will attack the trade unions for this. But unless we can act resolutely we shall simply split apart. Today the country needs our help 'from below,' while we are trying to resolve everything via the 'top'..."

I. Silayev, leader of the Interstate Economic Committee, A. Volskiy, president of the Science and Industry Union, and others spoke about how important the trade unions' help would be in averting the ruinous collapse of the country into individual, isolated "principalities."

"Recently I met the chairmen of 17 city trade union councils," A. Volskiy stressed. "People are saying with one voice: 'The main thing now is work. Enterprises are standing idle...' One comrade said bluntly: 'Unless you instill order we will do this ourselves'."

"The Army is saying that, too," M. Gorbachev said.

After that comment a heavy silence hung over the hall. Are even the grimmest lessons of no use to us, have we really learned nothing? Portraits of Stalin appeared in Red Square on 7 November, carried by demonstrators. Commenting on this fact, M. Gorbachev noted bitterly: "Ten million people were cut down yet there are these portraits... What kind of society do we have?" Indeed, do we really yearn so much for the firm hand wielding a big stick?

During the debate, M. Gorbachev interrupted one of the speakers and told him:

"So, was everything good in the past? And is it necessary to go back to the past? The other day I had a meeting, we talked about the fact that there is nothing with which to repair agricultural equipment, and it was demanded that the minister take everything into his own hands. So, we have to go backwards now? We must decide what we need—either the old Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], or commodity and raw materials exchanges, or direct ties using market institutions... All the time people pressure me: It is necessary to 'extend' the old economic ties between enterprises for six months, or at least for three months, otherwise everything will fall apart... Let everyone take part in the search for paths."

Among the many subjects touched on during the meeting, our newspaper was discussed. M. Gorbachev complained (although mildly, with a fair dose of humor) that TRUD sometimes even fails to report very important speeches by the president. But then, touching on the newspaper's financial problems under the current circumstances of unpredictable rises in the price of paper, he noted that the trade unions should do everything to help their newspaper.

Closing the meeting, M. Gorbachev stated in his speech that he had no differences with the trade unions as regards their assessment of the situation. We can sense the drama of the situation too, the president continued, the hot breath of highly dangerous events can already be felt.

There are problems which have been highlighted as urgent—food and fuel. As for food, the task can be resolved given our own potential and imports. That is, we must not permit any reduction in food volumes next year compared with this year. The fuel problem too can be resolved. Food and power are the fundamental task.

Noting the agreements reached on import shipments, M. Gorbachev stressed that main emphasis should nonetheless be laid on our own production. If the trend toward disintegration should continue, then all programs—including the food program—would be wrecked.

And that would be an upheaval which, in general terms, could set the entire country back a very long way and for a long time. In this situation we would need to release the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and give them medals... If we are to start getting better we have to work. But we will not get far with a policy of separatism [samostiynost] and isolationism. Separatists in the Ukraine, for instance, are encouraging dangerous policies, tormenting the government, and "pressuring" presidential candidates in order to ensure that the Ukraine quits the Union. And what about the situation in Russia? The entire press, the president said, is encouraging the idea that Russia should strike out on its own. It is simply an obsession. The president and the new Russian Government are coming up against this.

Yet people think differently. Recent polls have shown that more people now advocate the Union than was the case in the referendum—80 percent in Moscow, 72 percent in Alma-Ata, and around 60 percent in Kiev.

Working people have already sensed where disintegration is leading. Some are not getting any timber, others are not getting any metal, others are not getting any electronics... In short, they cannot produce their end product, they cannot make a profit, earn a wage, live... There is no income. Manufacturers are paralyzed. If we destroy an economic space which has been built up over centuries, it will be a major disaster.

Addressing the trade union leaders, the president asked: "And where have you working people's representatives been in this situation? If working people are advocating the Union, the trade unions should be actively campaigning for it."

But today, M. Gorbachev continued, people often try to present those who back the idea of preserving the Union—a reformed Union, of course—as being reactionaries. Some people are pursuing their own political aims, some are after jobs.... But they will all be disgraced.

Now to the main political question—the question of the state. The breakup of the Union is leading to the breakup of ties. Disintegration processes are under way in the economy, science, and all and sundry. We have no internal state borders. And if we start establishing real borders, then it will have more terrifying results for everyone than what is currently happening in Croatia and Serbia. The time has come to take a stand on this, the main issue...

The Interstate Economic Committee should now draw up consistent steps. M. Gorbachev stressed that if prices

are allowed to float without manufacturers being given their freedom, nothing good will come of it. The president said that a third serious mistake in economic policy is in evidence. First Ryzhkov announced a price revision six months in advance, and market devastation began. This was followed by Pavlov's clumsy actions. Feelings had just started to settle down, and now this has upset everything again...

Talking about the system of social protection and the social contract, the president noted the important role of the trade unions, which will have to decide these matters with the republics. But if the political issues are not settled, the economic treaty will be doomed, M. Gorbachev concluded.

The meeting lasted around two and a half hours. And, although no specific decisions were reached, it allowed the participants to gain a new insight into what is happening in the country and to clarify the sides' positions. I think that the reports on the meeting will provide food for thought for the leaders of the sovereign states.

We have hardly any time left. We are all on the brink, in the last ditch. Pray God we go no further.

Nishanov Appointed as Presidential Adviser

LD1411182791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1641 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)—It has become known here that Rafik Nishanov, the former chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the previous USSR Supreme Soviet, has been appointed as adviser to the USSR president.

In a conversation with a TASS correspondent Nishanov expressed the hope that his experience will be of help to Mikhail Gorbachev. He assumed that in his new post he will be "performing the most varied missions connected both with interethnic and interrepublican relations, and with international issues."

Laptev Appointed Director General of Newspaper

LD1511023691 Moscow TASS in English 2300 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Thursday [14 November] appointed Ivan Laptev, former chairman of the Council of the Union of the Soviet parliament, director general of the IZVESTIYA concern.

Laptev told the newspaper IZVESTIYA the concern will base its work on economic independence.

He said he will not interfere in the activity of editors or publishers, and will seek "to create normal conditions for each department in order that they could fulfill their tasks."

Laptev, 57, is a doctor of philosophy. He quit his post in the autumn of 1991 after the federal legislature was disbanded. Between 1984-1990, he worked as IZVESTIYA editor-in-chief.

Communists Advocate Yeltsin, Gorbachev Replacement

OW1411184091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

From "Bulletin 3"; transmitted via KYODO

[Text] The St. Petersburg-based Central Committee of the All- Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks called upon "all progressive forces" Thursday [14 November] to launch a "mass public campaign for the replacement of the USSR and RSFSR Presidents."

The communist leadership accuses Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin of leading the country to disintegration and "hopeless economic and military degradation."

The Bolshevik party was founded in St. Petersburg on November 10 as a party of "committed Leninists." It unites, according to its leaders, nearly 10,000 members and has a network of committees in 8 republics. Nina Andreyeva has been elected General Secretary of the Central Committee.

Russophobia Increases; Said Almost 'Doctrine'

PM1411155191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 p 2

[Article by Eduard Volodin; "Observer's Viewpoint" under the rubric "Who Will Defend Our Fellow Citizens' Rights": "'Russian-Speakers'"]

[Text] Something that happened only perhaps on territory temporarily occupied by the Germans is now happening in the country. Detachments of terrorists are trespassing on Russian land with the blessing of its authorities, seeking people not to their liking, and carrying them off to the mother country for punishment, in other words to the sovereign Baltic states. They carry off a member of a special purpose militia detachment from Tyumen in order then to begin catching a further 40 people on a prepared list in Russia, the Ukraine, and the Dnestr region. Within just two hours patriots in Tyumen collected the signatures of 1,500 citizens in the street, indignant at the actions by Baltic democrat-terrorists, but there has been no response from the powers that be.

People who fear for their own lives and for the lives of relatives just because they were loyal to their oath while serving in the Baltic region are being put in the position of illegals in their own country. What is going on? Why does a Russian person in Russia feel unprotected against foreign terrorists?

These are not rhetorical or idle questions. The more interethnic conflicts affect peoples and territories, the clearer the whole provocative essence of the invented concept of "Russian-speakers" becomes, and the more profoundly the political meaning of this term is revealed in Russia itself.

In prerevolutionary Russia and the former USSR, Russian was and still is the language of interethnic contact by virtue of historical, state-political, economic, cultural, and scientific reasons, each of which is objectively grounded in the substance of the life of the Russian people and in their relations with other ethnic groups. This is why, when people migrated to a territory densely inhabited by a different ethnic community, it was more convenient and more justified to use Russian for contacts and activity, and not the language of the so-called "indigenous" nation. I write "so-called" quite deliberately. Russia was created historically as a unified multinational state and over the course of a millennium absorbed monoethnic and polyethnic territories, never singling out or giving preference to any ethnic group, including the Russian people. This "jail of peoples" was in fact a school of interethnic friendship and cooperation on the nationalities question, naturally under corresponding specific historical and economic conditions.

This tradition of unity was violated in the former USSR, and we are reaping the results now and will feel them directly in Russia in the very near future—words about total-license sovereignty are not free of charge and have to be paid for. It is important for me to point out here that right up until 1985 the republic borders were a convention, a single economic mechanism operated, and a person originally from any oblast or republic felt himself a citizen of a common state in any other republic or oblast.

The catastrophic disintegration of the USSR at once exacerbated the artificial problem of the indigenous nation and the nonindigenous population and made it a means of political struggle and a weapon by means of which both the former Union and now Russia too are being transformed from a state into an economic-geographic space.

In this process the Russian people, with whom all "nonindigenous" people were equated in order to raise natural national feelings to a degree of hysteria and involuntary rejection of everything "alien," everywhere become the chief ethnic enemy of the perestroyka revolution and of the struggle for democracy and the concept of sovereignty. Thus, in the Baltic region, Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Kazakhs, Jews, Tatars, and representatives of approximately 100 other ethnic groups, who for one reason or another ended up on the Baltic threshold of the Russian Empire and then of the former USSR, are counted as "Russian-speakers." But it is advantageous to present a claim only to the Russians—the image of the enemy is localized. It is advantageous not to recall that Georgians and Armenians are becoming second-class people in Latvia together with Russians, so as not to draw Georgia and Armenia into litigation over national dignity. In Estonia it is advantageous not to remember the Tatars or Kazakhs, who are subjected to national and racial discrimination together with the Russians.

This is why I maintain that the term "Russian-speakers" is used by politicians and by the "democratic" propaganda machine certainly not for linguistic convenience but as a political cover to achieve two ends: First, to inflate the long-legalized struggle against Russia and the Russian people and, second, to conceal behind this term the multinational makeup of the population, which has suddenly been turned into occupiers, enemies of the nation, and racially inferior people.

The term "Russian-speakers" acquires quite different meaning on the modern territory of Russia. However absurd and tragic this may be, the out-and-out Russophobia which characterized the first 20 years after the revolution was actively revived together with the successful plunging of the country into the catastrophe of perestroyka. The mocking of everything that was sacred in the Russian people and in Russian history, spirituality, and culture has now been revived and stepped up by the mass media and is being turned into a political doctrine.

The genuine "Russian-speakers" are to be found in Russia and have been doing everything possible and impossible for decades, and particularly over the past six years, to emasculate the Russian historical memory, to deprive the Russian people of their national will, and to wipe out and denigrate national Russian ideals and priorities. These "Russian-speakers" consist of people of different nationalities, and there is a large percentage of Russians by birth among them, but they all go along with the ideology and psychology of de Custine and Smerdyakov simultaneously in an attempt to make their "Russian-speaking" status the property of Russian national life. In other words, to turn the Russian people into a population in order to rule it according to their own yardsticks.

Any manifestation of Russian national awareness is already hateful to Russian Russian-speakers. Everything is set in motion to ensure that we Russians do not dare to take pride in our history, our traditions, or our ideals that have been achieved through suffering. Just as in the years of "revolutionary legality," all this is categorized as black-hundredism and chauvinism, and legislation and the repressive apparatus are already being engaged to ensure that we Russians do not dare to defend our own national dignity. During the years of stagnation the Russians were not permitted to write about national politics and patriotism. Now "democracy" and "glasnost" have arrived, but hatred for Russia and the Russians has only increased. In fact, the revolutions in Russia proclaim social ideas with wearisome and frightening monotony but resolve just one question—the Russian question. And they seek to resolve it finally...

For now I can say one thing. My "Russian-speaking" brothers, wherever you live and to whatever nation you belong, Russia remembers you, whatever the television and radio orators and newspaper weaklings might disgorge. It has never sold or betrayed its children, to whatever nation—I repeat once again—they may belong.

And, however hard it might be for our mother, she knows and remembers you. The time will come when no one will be permitted to turn "nonindigenous" Russians into pawns in the political games of nationalists and adventurers of unknown ancestry.

Polls on Reform, Coup, Emergency Committee

OW1511082891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0724 GMT 15 Nov 91

[From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The DATA News Agency reports an October opinion poll taken by the National Public Opinion Studies Center among 2,053 people throughout the country showed that 56% of those questioned are in favor of rapid and decisive reform in the USSR.

27% favor caution in carrying out reform.

17% did not give a clear answer.

Most supporters of resolute reform appear to live in Russia—60%, their smallest number—in the Ukraine (52%).

Was the August Putsch Dangerous?

29% of the participants in a November 9-10 survey by the National Public Opinion Studies Center said that actions of the August 19-21 coup attempt's organizers had not posed any threat to the country.

However, most respondents (48%) have an opposite opinion.

23% were undecided.

The survey was taken among 1,002 people in 13 Russian cities, the DATA News Agency reports.

Margin of error—3%.

Are Slogans of Emergency Committee Back?

Participants in the same November opinion poll were asked if they would support slogans announced by the State of Emergency Committee now: preservation of the Union, restoration of law and order in the country, etc.

The opinion poll indicates the balance of opinions: 41% would support the Emergency Committee and the same number—would not.

18% have no opinion.

Margin of error—3%.

TASS Carries Press Review for 15 Nov

LD1511083991 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT 15 Nov 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—Newspapers highlight today a regular meeting of the heads of state and government of former Union republics, held in Novo-Ogarevo on Thursday [14 November]. They discussed a new draft Union treaty, sent by the presidents of the USSR and the Russian Federation to all participants in the session. The session was attended by the leaders of Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia. The Armenian president is in Washington on a visit, and Ukrainian representatives will not take part in the session until a referendum is held in the republic, PRAVDA reports. The session approved the preamble and the name of the document—"Treaty on the Union of Sovereign Republics".

"We are living in a different country. Previously its name was the USSR, and now the letters will be probably different—the USS—the Union of Sovereign States. Leaders of the seven republics, who came to Novo-Ogarevo this time, agreed to maintain a political alliance, but only in general terms so far," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes, quoting press secretary of the Soviet president A. Grachev. "Most probably, the political alliance will be consolidated after each republic goes through its illness by itself and begins to revive its economy," the newspaper points out.

"The first encouraging news has come from the Chechen-Ingush republic," PRAVDA writes. "By all appearances, the first steps have been taken towards the normalisation of the situation in that hotbed of tension in the Northern Caucasus." Reporting the lifting of the blockade of army units, the resumption of the railway traffic and the end of the meeting of Dzhokhar Dudayev's supporters in Groznyy, that lasted almost three months, the newspaper points to the onslaught of crime in the region, quoting the information of the republican interior ministry. The crime situation is aggravated by the people, who escaped from investigation prisons of Groznyy and the village of Naurskiy.

According to PRAVDA, Dudayev responded to Yeltsin's decree on the removal from his post of Akhmed Arsanov, the president's representative in the Chechen-Ingush republic, in the following way: "I have always believed that Yeltsin was given the incorrect information about the developments, and the decision to issue the decree on a state of emergency in the republic was actually imposed on him." The article is published together with a TASS information about Dudayev's press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA assesses the situation in the Chechen-Ingush republic in a different way. "Groznyy: A state of emergency has been lifted, but the emergency situation remains," the newspaper writes with concern. It reports, with reference to Dudayev, the arrest of seven terrorists, who allegedly were "fulfilling the orders of Moscow"."

"Open-hearth furnaces will stop functioning next January," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA warns. According to

forecasts of specialists, two rolling mills of the Perm Lenin machine-building plant will come to a standstill in the forthcoming few days. The reason for it is metal shortage in the Western Urals.

TRUD reports that chairman of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions Igor Klochkov sent a letter to Yeltsin. It set forth the stand of Russian trade unions on the Russian president's draft decree about the creation of a republican fund for social support of the population. The Council of the Trade Union Federation believes that the draft decree is "inexpedient and untimely", that "it provokes social tension in labour collectives, because the withdrawal of money from trade unions' social insurance funds will worsen the situation of the working people, many of whom are already on the verge of extreme poverty." According to the estimates of the Moscow employment service, about one million Muscovites will be redundant by the beginning of 1992.

"It is encouraging that our legislators are so much concerned over the problem of the country's security. A break with the totalitarian past does not remove the security problems from the agenda, but, on the contrary, makes it more acute and topical," Air Force Major General Nikolay Stolyarov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, said in an interview with TRUD, published today.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA reports with reference to Arturas Palauskas, Lithuanian prosecutor-general, that some 70 homes were searched on the night of November 11, and later four persons were arrested. "The law enforcement agencies do not doubt that all the four of them are members of an underground anti-government organisation, which includes former KGB officers, members of the Communist Party apparatus and officers of the Special Militia Force (OMON)," the newspaper writes. According to Matonis, acting interior minister of the republic, "the organisation is part of a secret structure and ... its work is not confined to the Baltic countries alone. It covers the territory of the whole of the Soviet Union."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Burkhanuddin Rabbani, head of the delegation of Afghan mujahidin visiting Moscow. On behalf of the mujahidin, Rabbani expressed readiness to develop relations with the Soviet Union, if they come to power. "The role of Russia in the settlement of the Afghan problem is more important to us than the role of the United Nations Organisation," Rabbani said.

"If agreement on the division of authority between the executive and legislative institutions of Moscow is not reached before November 18, the Moscow convention of businessmen will reserve the right to demand, together with Muscovites, the resignation of both the Moscow City Council (Mossovet) and the Moscow government," businessmen wrote in their letter to the Russian president and Moscow leaders. An article on this subject is published by PRAVDA.

The newspaper carries an interview of its correspondent in London with the director of the De Beers Corporation. He spoke about the need for close partnership between De Beers, the leading diamond- working corporation, and the Rosalmazzoloto association. The De Beers director believes that the best way to market Soviet diamonds is through his corporation.

International sections of newspapers focus their attention on the developments in Yugoslavia, security and disarmament problems, the situation in the Middle East, Latin America and Cambodia.

Economic

Silayev Orders Guarantee of Winter Fuel Supply

LD1411144491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1337 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)—Ivan Silayev has signed an instruction on providing the country's economy in the coming autumn and winter period with a stable supply of oil, gas, coal, heat, and electricity. The Committee for Operational Management of the Economy of the USSR, which he heads, has instructed ministries responsible for the state of affairs in the fuel and power industries and the "Gasprom," "Neftegazstroy," and "Rosvostokstroy" concerns to concentrate material and technical resources on the timely commissioning of top-priority facilities nearing completion.

It has been suggested to the economic ministries of the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] that, along with the country's Vneshekonombank [Foreign Economic Bank], they determine the method of paying for foreign purchases of diesel oil, polyethylene, various resins, and wide-diameter piping.

The committee has recommended that the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the "Russian Timber Industrialists" corporation, and the USSR State Committee for Forestry not only pay bonuses to the workers of enterprises that supply timber for the coal-mining industry, but also make special allocations of small vehicles, refrigerators, and other consumer goods in short supply.

Railways Threaten Ticket Suspension

LD1411205791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Telephone report by Anatoliy Goldin, member of the press center, from the Ministry of Railways]

[Excerpts] The Ministry of Railways revealed today that unless in the next few hours it receives a positive reply from the operational management committee to a request for help from the railway workers in paying the annual debt of almost $100 million for our rolling stock using European and Asian tracks, the Ministry of Railways will sign an order this very day on suspending as soon as tomorrow the reservation and sale of tickets for

rubles on all trains leaving the territory of the former Soviet Union from 1 January 1992. [passage omitted]

Iron, Steel Industry in 'Disastrous' Condition

OW1511072391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Oleg Soskovets, formerly the USSR minister for the Iron and Steel Industry and now president of the Roschermet Corporation, has told an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent that this year's total output of steel, pig iron, and rolled metal in the country will amount to no more than 70-80 percent of last year's. This means that Russia alone will get 30 mln [million] tonnes of steel and 12 mln tonnes of rolled metal less than it needs.

Mr. Soskovets described the state of the industry as disastrous. He thought this had been caused by the absence of a coordinating center, the internal nonconvertibility of the ruble, and the lack of mutual understanding between the iron and steel industry and the coal-mining and oil-extracting industries.

Government Tries To Collect Foreign Debt

OW1511070591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2214 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" for "November 15, 1991;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As of November 1, 1991, the total foreign debt (government loans including interest) owed to the Soviet Union consisted of more than 90 billion hard rubles. At the official exchange rate, 1 hard ruble is worth $0.58; however, the Soviet Union rarely offered foreign countries government loans in hard currency. Thus, the conversion of the foreign debt into dollars is quite complicated. Mr. Arkady Volskiy, deputy chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee, estimates that debts owed to the Soviet Union may be worth approimately $104 billion.

MAJOR DEBTOR COUNTRIES: CUBA, MONGOILIA AND VIETNAM

Most of the Soviet Union's major debtors are developing countries, especially the former Comecon's [CEMA] weaker members. Of these, Cuba, Vietnam and Mongolia have especially large debt burdens. Together with North Korea and Laos, these three countries owe the Soviet Union 40.5 billion rubles, or approximately 44% of all foreign debts owed to the Soviet Union.

Poland is the largest debtor among the East Europen countries. The sum of Poland's outstanding debt will probably be applied to balancing the Soviet Union's debt to Poland. The two countries are presently engaged in bilateral negotiations to discuss the Soviet debt to Poland, which has accumulated as a result of current commodity circulation trends.

USSR's Largest Debtor Countries (in billions of hard rubles):

Cuba	16.7
Mongolia	10.3
Vietnam	10.0
India	9.6
Syria	7.0
Afghanistan	4.7
Yemen	3.4
Iraq	3.3
Ethiopia	3.1
Algeria	2.2
Egypt	1.7
Libya	1.6
Nicaragua	1.1

Several countries regularly make their scheduled loan payments to the USSR. They include India, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Morocco and Ghana. Until recently, Iraq also made its payments on time.

Many countries have defaulted on their loans, including Cuba, Vietnam, Mongolia, Ethiopia, Angla, Yemen, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Guinea, Mali, Sudan, Madagascar, and several others. These countries have asked the Soviet Union to extend their payments or to write off their debts partially or entirely.

To clear off all its debts, the Soviet Union receive [as received] 39 billion rubles in loan payments over the next five years, or an average of 8 billion rubles annually.

WHO WILL BUY CUBA'S DEBTS TO MOSCOW?

Recently Moscow has been actively seeking out new ways to facilitate the repayment of loans it offered to foreign countries. Possible alternatives are being considered:

First, the Soviet Union could resell outstanding debts it owns on the secondary credit market. Mr. Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy chairman of the Interrupublican Economic Committee, thinks that the Soviet Union could earn $45 billion by selling its foreign debts to Western companies. On the other hand, Vneshekonombank has expressed doubts that such a financial operation would be feasible, since the Soviet Union offered most loans on a non-commercial basis.

Second, the Soviet Union could offer developing countries the opportunity to pay off their debts by supplying the USSR with typically exported goods. Also, debtor countries would have the option to make payments to the Soviet Union in their own local currency. The Soviet Union could use local currency to finance expenditures on the territory of the debtor country (for example, to maintain Soviet representatives) or to invest in the local

economy. As a rule, the debtor countries have reacted sympathetically to the nontraditional methods suggested for settling the debt. The mediation of ITF, a Swiss firm, helped the Soviet Union successfully make an agreement with Mozambique concerning the payment of its debt. Within the next three months, a corresponding bank agreement is expected to be signed.

Ongoing negotiations are examining Algeria's debt to the Soviet Union. Experts estimate that Algeria could pay back the Soviet Union up to 90% of its outstanding loans in various forms. Similar opportunities do not arise in the case of every debt. The Soviet Union asked Vietnam and Mongolia to allow the USSR to reinvest debts owed to it in their economies, but so far both countries have reacted coolly to this option.

Composite Data for USSR Loans to Foreign Countries (as of November 1, 1991, in billions of hard rubles)

	Offered	Utilized	Already Paid Off	Principal Interest
In sum	151.093	120.842	26.101	7.803
Former socialist countries	64.152	54.487	6.512	3.260
Developing countries	86.941	66.355	19.589	4.543

Debts on Soviet Loans

	Principal Amount of Loan	Interest	Sum
In sum	87.231	4.415	91.646
Former socialist countries	44.031	2.242	46.273
Developing countries	43.200	2.173	45.373

Military

Construction of Aircraft Carriers Assessed

92UM0122A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 3

["Views, Positions" article by Captain First Rank of the Reserve V. Zaborskiy and Major General of the Reserve A. Kubarev, candidate of military sciences: "Aircraft Carriers: To Build Them or Not?"]

[Text] "The outlines of the enormous ship began to appear more and more clearly in the morning mist. Our small cutter got closer and closer to it until the deck of the ship loomed over us, covering half the horizon. Two meter high golden letters floated past us—Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union N. G. Kuznetsov. There is majesty in each line of the form. And the realization automatically broke through: The state that built such a ship is great and powerful. Its greatness cannot be ignored. It is foolish to dictate conditions to it. It can only be approached with good intentions...."

That is a fragment from an article by a foreign journalist that was dedicated to the Russian Navy. But here is an excerpt from an article by a native author: "The construction of an aircraft carrier is a venture. Aircraft carriers do not correspond to the 'military defensive doctrine' that we have declared. They are not capable of defending our country from naval directions, they do not bring benefit to the defensive might of the country, they expend resources that are obviously lacking for the creation of the necessary systems of defense from naval directions...."

A lot has been written about this in recent years. About ships, which in the Soviet classification are treated as heavy aircraft carrying cruisers. Should they be or not? Are they needed or not? And the green light is given in the press more and more frequently to those who raise their publicist axe over the fleet and the achievements of our country's shipbuilding.

Well, let us analyze it together. Remembering first of all that the fate of our fleet was not the easiest for a century. It was born of a heroic feat, it grew, and it got stronger. And only a heroic feat can save it today. Not by a single person, but by the people.

What should the fleet be? The answer to this question by every professional briefly sounds like this today: balanced. That is, possessing all of the components in the necessary proportions—from submarines to aircraft-carrying ships. Attacks were made at different times against different forces of the fleet, and today the spears of the attackers are aimed at aircraft carriers, and for this reason we are talking about them.

It is necessary to start with the statement: The surface ship inventory of our fleet never had and, unfortunately, still does not have aircraft carriers. Yes, this is so no matter what is proclaimed by the exposers of "the excessive infatuation of the Navy with aircraft carriers." And this is at a time when aircraft carriers long ago showed their combat capabilities to the world. They took their place firmly in the Navies of other states as far back as a half century ago.

The appearance of aircraft carriers, or the "aviamatka," as they were previously called, goes back to the years 1926-1936. The first place for the creation of the world's first aircraft carrier of a special construction belongs to Japan.

On the threshold of World War II, the Japanese admirals began to speed up the preparation of the Navy for aircraft carrier naval operations. At that time, adherence to powerful battleships still continued to reign in the United States, England, and France. Aircraft carriers and naval aviation were assigned only an auxiliary role.

On 7 December 1941, 353 carrier-based aircraft that took off from six Japanese aircraft carriers in two hours destroyed almost the entire line Navy of the Americans at the main United Sates naval base in the Hawaiian Islands. As a result, the Japanese gained complete supremacy in the Pacific Ocean theater of military operations. The vast ocean region with its islands and archipelagoes supplied Japan with raw material resources for practically the entire war. This supremacy lasted until 1953 [as published], and in the battle of Midway, American carrier aviation in turn destroyed four of the most powerful Japanese aircraft carriers (Hiryu, Soryu, Kaga, and Akagi). In this battle, Japan was deprived of the cream of the flight personnel of carrier-based aviation of the Navy. The Japanese were unable to replace the fatal losses before the end of the war—pilots who in several years had gained a wealth of experience in air battles under naval conditions (which requires special flight training).

Let us ask ourselves: Why was such a victory by the United States possible? By 1943, the Americans demonstrated their economic might to the world, and they undertook an unprecedented massive construction of aircraft carriers. During the years of the war, the United States built 46 squadrons and 111 escort aircraft carriers. For comparison, Japan, with extreme effort, was able to build only nine squadron and six escort aircraft carriers.

The lessons of the war in Korea (1950-1952) once again confirmed the high combat qualities of aircraft carriers, and the appearance and development of jet aviation intensified their combat might even more. From that time, aircraft carriers became a main component of surface forces of the United States and England.

Since that time, strategic tasks have been entrusted to aircraft carriers. They are ordered to deliver strikes, including nuclear strikes, on administrative industrial centers and ground-based facilities of an enemy. The U.S. Navy is persistently improving and developing methods for the operational use of aircraft carrier forces and tactics for the combat employment of carrier-based aircraft against ground and naval targets. With the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles and strategic aviation, the United States is transferring aircraft carriers to the general purposes inventory of the U.S. Navy, they represent the main strike component of the fleet, and at the same time they are a reserve of national strategic forces.

At this time, the United States is carrying out intensive construction of new large aircraft carriers of the Forrestal class, and subsequently of the Kitty Hawk class. They are given the designation strike, but at the present time they are called multipurpose. The first nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Enterprise was built in 1961 (displacement of about 90,000 tons, and 90-95 aircraft).

The U.S. Navy constantly maintains 14-16 strike (multipurpose) aircraft carriers at combat readiness, operating on a permanent basis in the inventory of operational fleets (6th and 7th) and in formations in all strategically important regions of the world's oceans (North Atlantic, Mediterranean Sea, Indian and Pacific oceans). These forces, depending on the operational situation, are redeployed to "hot" areas to reinforce ship groups and ground forces operating there.

The latest example is the participation of U.S. aircraft carriers in the UN-sanctioned attack on Iraq and in military operations in the Persian Gulf. Thus, the aircraft carrier forces of the U.S. Navy are highly combat ready forces—military-political pressure forces, but, frequently, forces for direct interference in the affairs of other states. It seems, that many of our expectations are futile that the United States will listen in Vienna or in Geneva to our "persuading" treaty negotiators, and that they will place the U.S. Navy in a rigid framework of treaty limitations. We should not even dream that the Americans, for example, will turn half of their aircraft carriers into "needles." And they can be understood in this—is it really possible to wreck such a splendidly equipped and streamlined naval machine? The American patriot—a majority of the taxpayers, in contrast to our disarmers, will not support petitioners for disarming the fleet, if those should suddenly appear in the United States. Indeed, they simply will be called state criminals who are working for the "Reds," and who want the downfall of the United States. Thus, the U.S. Navy was and, apparently, will remain the most prestigious and most government-guarded service of the Armed Forces in the foreseeable future.

Construction has been started in England on the new aircraft-carrying ships of the Invincible class, equipped with multipurpose vertical takeoff and landing aircraft of the Harrier type. Three such ships have been entered into the naval inventory.

The inventory of the French Navy at the present time has two aircraft carriers—Clemenceau and Foch. Two more nuclear-powered aircraft carriers are being built.

Even such countries as Spain and India have aircraft carriers. Italy plans to build two aircraft carriers. It is just for us that this is impermissible.

Speaking for many years for a ban in our country on the construction of aircraft carriers (it cannot be said differently), our home-grown "peacemakers" literally do not see: We continue to be confronted with a powerful coalition of forces in the military-naval relations of states. To prevent and to maximally neutralize this kind of a threat, apparently, is possible only by creating an adequate danger to an enemy Navy. In this world, only the strong are respected, those states that are capable of standing up for themselves.

Certain contemporary naval critics and "experts" quite seriously claim that in our defensive doctrine all of the tasks for the defense of the country from the sea can be resolved just with submarines, missile and torpedo boats, and small antisubmarine ships. We advise such "specialists," who do not cite contemporary research, to read at least the memoirs of a former people's commissar

and minister of the Navy, Fleet Admiral of the Soviet Navy N.G. Kuznetsov. Here is what he writes:

"It seems to me that it is incorrect to arrange the execution of all tasks at sea by orienting oneself only on a powerful submarine fleet. Only a sensible and scientifically based combination of different arms of naval forces and classes of ships can guarantee the execution of the tasks facing the navy."

And the admirers of the so-called "mosquito" (small ship) Navy can be directed to the work of the theoretician with a world name, Admiral P. Barzho: "A fleet that does not have aircraft carriers at the present time is an incomplete fleet, inasmuch as it is capable of executing only tasks of a local nature."

The question of aircraft carrier construction was raised before the war by the High Command, the Main Staff of the Navy, and by prominent naval and military specialists.

Admiral N.G. Kuznetsov writes about these events this way: "It was decided to build battleships, heavy cruisers, and other classes of ships; that is, a large surface fleet. A large number of submarines were also built. And the construction of an aircraft carrier also was not excluded, but it was put off to the last year of the five-year plan.... The shortcoming of prewar programs was the infatuation with battleships and heavy cruisers. Under the conditions of limited naval theaters and the resultant tasks, this was unjustified. Based on probable tasks, we felt a need for small aircraft carriers, without which even back then we could not operate destroyers and cruisers with great success.... But these especially were not paid attention to by the then people's commissariat of defense; and I.V. Stalin, who usually heeded the opinions of specialists, underestimated the role of aircraft carriers for some reason."

The attitude of N. Khrushchev to the fleet, and this is no secret to sailors of those years, was negative. Frankly speaking, even the prominent commander Marshal G. Zhukov, as the minister of defense, also underestimated the significance of the fleet.

With the appointment of A. Grechko as minister of defense, and later D. Ustinov, the attitude of the leadership of the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff to the needs of the fleet became more positive: In 1967, the Navy received the first specially constructed aircraft-carrying ship—the antisubmarine helicopter cruiser Moskva (16 helicopters), and in 1969, the second ship of this class, the Leningrad.

Further work in this direction was accomplished by the introduction into the Soviet Navy inventory of the first heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser Kiev, with vertical takeoff and landing aircraft and long-range antiship missiles. Another three ships of this class were built in the succeeding years—the Minsk, Novorossiysk, and Fleet Admiral of the Soviet Union S.G. Gorshkov.

And our latest achievement, the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser, equipped with jump ramp takeoff [tramplinnovyy vzlet] aircraft (SU-27 and MIG-29) and a complex of powerful antiship missiles. The first ship of this project, the Fleet Admiral of the Soviet Union N.G. Kuznetsov entered the Soviet Navy inventory in 1990. Perhaps only this ship more or less approximated the generally accepted class of aircraft carriers. But with what pangs it was born!

Undoubtedly an important, but hardly the main factor that held up the construction of the country's aircraft carriers for a long time was the high cost of their construction, and also the construction of a developed infrastructure for a system of basing in the fleets, without which a ship will simply get ruined in peacetime. Indeed, aircraft carriers are an expensive necessity, which economically strong naval powers can afford. But, as the English say, we are not so rich that we can buy cheap things. Especially as our naval specialists and foreign naval specialists have proved through special research based on an "efficiency-cost" criterion: The high cost of an aircraft carrier is more than justified.

The opponents of construction of Soviet aircraft carriers who have appeared in the pages of the press in recent years are basically people who are far from knowledgeable on military questions, but especially on naval questions. However, it is also difficult to suspect them of a profound knowledge of economic laws. Basically, people from the sidelines who are attracted to this theme are several people's deputies, Academician Arbatov, and also several authors. Until recently, no one from among the Navy people have broached this subject. But "holes" have also appeared here today.

Intermingled with the destinies of Navy people, that is the story of aircraft carrier construction in our fatherland in a very general way.

FROM THE EDITOR. When this material was being prepared for the press, a letter arrived at the editorial office from a group of employees of the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry and ship designers of the Nevskiy project-design bureau. The question raised in them is the fate of two aircraft-carrying cruisers whose construction is being completed in Nikolayev. Recently, and particularly after the declaration of sovereignty by the Ukraine, Yu. Makarov, the director of a Black Sea shipbuilding plant, as the authors report, abruptly changed his attitude toward the Navy. It is planned to stop the construction of aircraft-carrying ships, and to fulfill orders of foreign firms.

We contacted Rear Admiral V. Polenskiy, chief of the Main Directorate of Shipbuilding of the Navy. He confirmed the information that arrived at the editorial office. The position of the Main Directorate of Shipbuilding of the Navy: The hulls of these ships must be preserved and mothballed. It seems that a decision on such a question is within the jurisdiction of the higher organs of state authority.

Baltic Affairs

Soviet Officers Demand Withdrawal Guarantees

OW1511004191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In connection with the planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltic states, officers serving in an air force college in Daugavpils held a meeting at which they put forward several demands.

They demand that they should not be sent back to the Soviet Union before final documents are signed at the negotiations between the USSR and the Baltic states and that proper living conditions provided for them in the places where they are to serve.

They also insist that the Soviet troops stationed in the Baltics be given a clearly formulated status, that the flats built at the expense of the USSR Defence Ministry be privatised and given to the officers who live in them at present and that their pay be brought into line with the growing prices.

The officers demand that the personal property they will take with them when they move back to the Soviet Union be exempt from any customs duties.

Estonia

Minister Views Clearing System for Republics

OW1511022791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Baltic states and former Soviet republics are unlikely to be paying each other in rubles in their trade transactions, the Estonian Minister for Material Resources, Aleksandr Sikkal, has told a BF [BALTFAX] correspondent. But Russia has not yet made any suggestions on the matter, he added.

He thought it was possible that the republics forming the economic community would soon sign an agreement on mutual payments and that it would be based on a clearing system. Such a clearing agreement might be signed by the Baltic states as well, he believed. This kind of community might be modeled on the one based on the Marshall Plan which existed in postwar Europe.

Baltic leaders have repeatedly expressed their willingness to use a clearing system in their transactions with the USSR, but the idea was criticised by some senior figures in the Baltic economies, such as the General Director of Estontoplivo, Oleg Panfilov.

Mr. Sikkal thought Russia would make its proposals in the near future, when the "new team" in the Russian Government, namely Economics Minister Yegor Gaydar and his colleagues, got things going.

Today (November 14) Mr. Sikkal has had a meeting with Russia's minister for trade and material resources, Stanislav Anisimov, after which he said that in his opinion the new people in the Russian Government would be able to create a market economy in a fairly short time.

Mr. Sikkal also said he had asked the Russian authorities for a permission to transport goods bought in Russia, either at commodity exchanges or by direct contracts, to Estonia. He had the support of the exchanges in that, he said.

Foreign Minister on Brussels, Helsinki Trips

LD1411130591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri has arrived back from yet another visit abroad. Since 7 November he has been in Helsinki and Brussels. Today the foreign minister gave a news conference in Toompea.

In Helsinki Meri met his Finnish counterpart Vaeyrynen, with whom possibilities were discussed of Finnish assistance to us in organizing our consular activity. Finland is ready to represent our interests in those states to which Estonia will not be able to send her envoys. The Netherlands are ready to do the same. According to Meri, within the next few weeks the matter should be settled as to the states in which Estonia will have envoys of her own and those in which our interests will be represented by our neighbors. [passage omitted]

Lennart Meri also had a meeting with Finnish military leaders. Finland is ready to accept small numbers of officers for training for the benefit of the Republic of Estonia Army.

Of his meetings in Brussels, Meri highlighted those connected with NATO. But one should not think that Estonia will instantly become a member of NATO. Here is Lennart Meri.

[Begin Meri recording] [passage omitted] The idea that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania might in the near future become members of NATO is of course totally unfounded. NATO would that way lose its trustworthiness; it is no DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy]. Perhaps I should illustrate it this way. There are 16 states under NATO's umbrella, as before. But NATO is prepared to hold its umbrella much higher up, and the umbrella can be seen from a greater distance. If you have any idea at all about meteorology or simply about rain you will know that if one keeps an umbrella sufficiently high up and if [words indistinct], a man without an umbrella might also keep dry. This would then be the net total of the three, four, or five conferences during the seven hours I spent at the NATO headquarters. [end recording]

According to Meri, NATO is also prepared to lend a hand in training officer cadres for the Estonian Army.

Consular Affairs Discussed With Finland

LD1411124691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Excerpts] ETA reports that Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister Enn Liimets met representatives of the Finnish Foreign Ministry today. [passage omitted]

Estonia made it known that starting from 1 December all consular matters concerning Estonia in Finland will be resolved solely by the Estonian Consulate in Helsinki.

IZVESTIYA Examines Citizenship Law

PM1411104391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent L. Levitskiy report under "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "How Do You Become a Citizen?"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian parliament has adopted a resolution on citizenship. Fierce arguments about it have raged for two months. They will be resumed since the deputies have merely expressed a political decision—they deemed it necessary to enact the 1938 Law on Citizenship.

The government has three weeks to submit to parliament a bill on the mechanism for enacting this law. The majority of deputies—for various reasons, admittedly—consider the automatic transfer of a formerly vitally important act to be impossible.

One parliamentary group's official letter stressed: "It follows that extensive amendments and additions will have to be made because the law, which reflected world standards in 1938, does not meet today's demands."

Several amendments to the future law have been proposed. Ministers have been tasked with racking their brains over which of them to take into account and the kind of procedure for adopting the law. But the deputies' debates are continuing. Now they are centered on the draft resolution "On the Status of a Citizen of the Estonian Republic Citizen and the Status of a USSR Citizen in the Estonian Republic." This document is far tougher and right-wing than the resolution just adopted.

It stresses: The restored republic bears no relation to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is the legal successor of the state which existed before 1940 and consequently in questions of citizenship carries no obligations toward people from the USSR permanently residing in the republic. They arrived and settled against the will of the Estonian Republic. The citizenship of these settlers will be decided during talks with interested states. These talks should be conducted with due consideration of Estonian Republic laws. The duration of a settler's term of residence has no significance. The residence qualification should be calculated from 20 August 1991, the day of the republic's restoration.

One further clarification: All inhabitants of Estonia who came to the republic after June 1940 do not have the right to self-determination... Such strict wording caused perplexity among many deputies. They concluded that it would be best to carry discussion of this document over to the next session.

The prewar law on citizenship was one of the most liberal in its day. It was sufficiently hospitable to include also those people who intended to move to Estonia in the future. So why did almost all the Russian-speaking deputies vote against it or abstain?

They explained their position: "Apart from the residence qualification, which is specified as two years, a further probationary year is envisaged. Only when it expires will an application for citizenship be considered, and people will be examined on their knowledge of the state language. Parliament is making the law retroactive. This action is directed against people who have lived in Estonia for many years, if not all their lives, and have abided by the norms and legal institutions existing therein.

"It is also understandable that hundreds of thousands of people cannot be expected to master the Estonian language and pass an examination in the space of one year. Previously, Estonian-language teaching has not been seriously organized even in the schools; and what is even more important is that within the year earmarked for making a decision the privatization process will be largely concluded and the division of state property will take place. Non-citizens—a third of the population—will be left with nothing because the law on land confirms that property ownership is linked with citizenship status. Many people will also lose their job. A whole range of positions is likewise reserved for citizens. The economic and social rights of hundreds of thousands of people of nonindigenous nationality will be significantly curtailed on legal grounds. Therefore we insist that citizenship be offered to all permanent residents of Estonia..."

So these are the fears. They are shared by the recently created Russian democratic movement. Will it have any real influence on the government's decision on the mechanism for introducing the law on citizenship? The very existence of the newborn movement is in question. According to the 1938 law, noncitizens do not have the right to set up parties or social movements....

Latvia

Composition of New Government Reported

LD1511115891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The law promptly adopted by parliament on ministries of the Republic of Latvia is commented on

today by all the leading newspapers of Latvia. The paper DIENA described it as the first step toward a Cabinet of Ministers. In the future there will be 17 ministers in the Latvian Government with 16 ministries instead of the 23 previously. From now on every minister will be obliged to stimulate the privatization of his sector. The Ministry of Defense will be completely reformed. The Ministry of Justice will become a first rank ministry, and its head will be one of the most influential people in the state.

Statement on Former OMON Official Rebutted

LD1511095191 Riga Radio Riga International Service in Latvian 2030 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The Procuracy of the Republic of Latvia has officially announced that it does not agree with the statements by USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin on the illegality of the detention of former Riga Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] serviceman Parfenov. He has been detained in Russia in accordance with the demands of the law and the cooperation protocol between the procuracies of Russia and Latvia signed on 22 May 1991. The Latvian side, requesting the law protection establishments of sovereign Russia to execute extradition, has taken into consideration that Sergey Parfenov is a permanent resident of Latvia, who was born, brought up, received a passport, and to this very day has his abode registered in Latvia. Moreover, the charges against him concern only crimes committed in Latvia.

Republic Presses Ex-OMON Chief's Extradition

PM1411093191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent O. Meshkov report: "Those Who Are To Judge Sergey Parfenov"]

[Text] Riga—As people will know, USSR General Prosecutor N. Trubin has stated that handing over Sergey Parfenov, former deputy commander of the Riga OMON [special purpose militia detachment], to the Latvian authorities would be illegal. This statement has naturally not gone unnoticed in the republic. But here it is not considered possible to agree with the arguments adduced. Latvian Republic Deputy General Prosecutor J. Ancans has laid out his counterarguments on the pages of the newspaper DIENA: "There are no grounds for thinking that S. Parfenov, who was born and registered in Latvia, can be considered a foreigner. But that is precisely what they want to make us accept." Moreover, J. Ancans stressed that certain old laws continue to operate in Latvia and that the basic provision of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Criminal Code that a criminal offense must be investigated and the culprit judged where the crime was committed remains in force.

The publication of Parfenov's prison diary in IZVESTIYA has produced a furious reaction. The first question people ask is: How did the notes get out of the prison cell and into the hands of the newspaper's editorial office? A check will be carried out to ascertain how the leak occurred. The authenticity of the authorship of the prison notes is also being questioned.

Meanwhile investigation into the case of former Latvian Communist Party leader A. Rubiks continues. More than 1,000 witnesses have been questioned. It is expected that the case will be concluded in January next year. At the start of November Riga's Deputy Prosecutor E. Zvejnieks was appointed leader of the investigation, replacing R. Aksenoka, chief of the administration investigating specially important cases. But will there be a change on the defense side? Information has appeared that a U.S. lawyer of Latvian extraction has declared his readiness to act as Rubiks' attorney free of charge.

Popular Front Sees Four Options for Future

OW1411142291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1115 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 15, the Popular Front of Latvia will gather for its 4th congress in Riga to discuss its economic programme.

Mr. Dainis Ivans, First Vice Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, told BF [BALTFAX] that the drafting of a uniform economic programme was unreal at the moment, because the Popular Front was a coalition of political forces and not a union of like-minded people.

Mr. Ivans sees the future of the Popular Front in the following way.

First. The Popular Front may cease to exist as an organization which has attained its goal of eliminating the totalitarian regime and gaining independence.

Second. Its activity may be suspended with its bodies preserved and kept at the ready. Mr. Ivans believes that this is the most reasonable prospect, taking into account the presence of more than 100,000 Soviet soldiers in the republic.

Third. The Popular Front may be used as a basis for organizing a political party. This variant, however, should have been implemented earlier. At the moment, said Mr. Ivans, the Front may split into a number of parties of various political bias.

Fourth. The current leadership has proposed that the Popular Front continues its activity with minor changes. Mr. Ivans believes that if this option is chosen the Front will either die or turn into a bureaucratic and rather unpopular organization.

As a broad political movement the Popular Front cannot exist in an independent state and in a democratic multiparty setting, said Mr. Ivans. Therefore, this problem should be tackled resolutely and radically.

Ministry Adviser: Enough Gold for Currency

OW1511003991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview given to the DIENA newspaper Guntars Abols, an economic adviser for the Latvian Foreign Ministry, said that the cost of the gold deposited by Latvia in U.S., French, British and Swiss banks berore its annexation by the Soviet Union in 1940 had gone up tenfold during these years, and the sum was sufficient to guarantee the introduction of a national currency in that country.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Discusses Troop Withdrawal at UN

LD1511050591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, Vytautas Landsbergis, said at a news conference in New York that Lithuania was going to submit for the consideration of the UN General Assembly or one of its committees the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Lithuania.

The press conference was held after the Lithuanian leader met with the secretary general of the United Nations, Perez de Cuellar. The two officials discussed the contribution of the Baltic states to the UN budget, the setting up of a Baltic states foundation within the framework of the United Nations, and the pullout of Soviet troops from Lithuania. As Vytautas Landsbergis pointed out, the latter subject, together with the issues of Lithuanian-Soviet relations, was in the focus of the talks.

While in New York, the Lithuanian parliamentary leader met ambassadors to the United Nations of 15 states. Yet another meeting with representatives of the Simon Weisenthal Center, who had specially come to New York from Los Angeles, centered on the rehabilitation process in Lithuania and on proposals that a Weisenthal Center to protect this process. [sentence as heard]

Today Vytautas Landsbergis was a guest of honor at the congress of the American Jewish Committee, at which he made a speech. Before leaving New York, he also had to meet the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Thomas Pickering.

Landsbergis Cuts Short Overseas Trip

LD1411163191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis has concluded his visit to the United States. We would like to remind you of the schedule of this visit.

Vytautas Landsbergis met the leader and representatives of the Simon Wiesenthal center for finding Nazi war criminals. Today he is to meet the representatives of the Jewish Committee.

The withdrawal of the Soviet Armed Forces was discussed at the Landsbergis' meeting with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. The leader of the Lithuanian parliament also met the representatives of the UN Program for Economic Development. This organization will sponsor and arrange technical assistance for the Baltic states.

Meetings with ambassadors of various countries were included in the program for the visit.

The Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman was to leave New York for the Vatican and Italy. However, he has given up his first official visit to Rome; he is already on his way home and will be in Vilnius tomorrow.

Asked if the decision on his unexpected return to Lithuania was prompted by yesterday's news conference held by the leaders of the Lithuanian Security Service, Landsbergis answered that he wanted to find out more about the issue in Lithuania. The repressive Soviet administrative structures that formerly existed there have not yet completely vanished, he said. Their proponents have gone underground and are cherishing evil intentions toward the Republic of Lithuania, he said.

Given the complex crisis situation in the former Soviet Union and the approaching political struggle, we must realize that the situation in Lithuania is not only disturbing but even quite dangerous, Landsbergis stated.

Deputies Discuss State Security Department

OW1511064091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1445 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 14th after the first reading the Lithuanian parliament passed a draft law "On the new status of the Lithuanian Government's State Security Department". The deputies decided to hear in the near future a report by the republican Deputy Prime Minister, General Director of the State Security Department Zigmas Vaisvila on the Lithuanian state security concept.

The question of changing the status of the department was raised by the center faction insisting on the department's subordination to the parliament.

However, the permanent parliamentary commission on home defense and internal affairs proposes that the department's status should remain unchanged, but its chairman's candidacy should be approved by the parliament.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius suggested that "everything should remain unchanged".

The deputies will resume discussion of the issue next week.

Defense Minister Views Security System

OW1511004091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview given to the newspaper Lietuvos Aidas the Lithuanian Defence Minister, Audrius Butkevicius, said that his country's security system should be based on other principles than those underlying such systems in larger countries.

He believes what Lithuania needs nowadays is a system for nationwide defence: "In times of crisis the whole nation is fighting, with everyone knowing his position and using his own weapon, whether this is a rifle or a pen."

He described the present-day position of Lithuania as dangerous. This, in his opinion, is being caused by the increasing instability in the USSR, the present disagreements of Russia with the Ukraine and the Muslim republics and the authoritarian and nationalist trends gaining momentum there.

Economic Accord Signed With Baltic Fleet

LD1211144891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Algis Dobrovolskis and Baltic Fleet Commander Admiral Vladimir Yegorov today signed an agreement on social and economic cooperation.

Correction to KGB Names Parliamentary Agent

OW1511014091

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "Ex-KGB Officer Names Parliamentarian Agent" published on page 34 of the 14 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT:

page 34, column two, paragraph one, first sentence should read: ...of the former Lithuanian KGB who said... (changing "Estonian" to "Lithuanian")

Chechen-Ingush Situation

Dudayev on Recognition, Talks With Russia

LD1511044691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] It seems that Groznyy is now no longer like a powder keg. People on the street carrying weapons are becoming more of a rare occurrence. Practically all the National Guard has been withdrawn from the town. Those people possessing weapons have been offered a grace period of 10 days to register their weapons or face the threat of legal proceedings. For the entire transitional period, parliament has left in operation on the territory of the Chechen-Ingush Republic the laws of the USSR, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and the Chechen-Ingush Republic which are not at variance with the declaration of sovereignty. Today our film crew today visited President Dzhakhar Dudayev.

[Begin recording] [unidentified reporter] The first question is how do you intend to build relations with Russia?

[Dudayev] There can be no question of any talks until there is recognition of the president and parliament and agreement to hold talks at an intergovernmental level. That decision has been made by parliament and has been brought to the attention of the population, all structures, and the Russian Supreme Soviet.

[Reporter] How did you receive the news that Russia's government had canceled the state of emergency?

[Dudayev] It did not cancel the state of emergency. We are attentively following developments. It was first and foremost thanks to Democratic Russia itself. The second congress of Democratic Russia, which was under way, unconditionally deemed the decree on the introduction of the state of emergency unlawful and demanded that it be rescinded. This was a very great achievement by Russia itself, probably greater than our own. It is this Russia that we recognize—namely, Democratic Russia.

[Reporter] Speaking on local television yesterday, you said that in the future it would be not the Chechen Republic but the Vaynak Republic. That is to say, Checheno-Ingushetia will be restored within the boundaries that it had earlier.

[Dudayev] I am fully convinced that the people are unified ethnically and territorially. All the signs are that they should be unified in managing their state set-up. We are proceeding toward this on a more durable and lawful basis so that no residual or initiated phenomena remain that our descendants will need to tackle.

[Reporter] Today there was a joint session of the Chechen parliament and the parliament of the Confederation of Caucasian Mountain Peoples. The issue being resolved is a very serious one—the creation of a unified military structure. What is the role of the Chechen-Ingush Republic in this structure?

[Dudayev] I would say that this issue is a forced one. It would be best for us to tackle by joint decisions of parliament the ways to consolidate forces, economic matters, the political set-up, and the resolution of contentious issues on the basis of ethnic traditions, decency, and good-neighborly relations. [end recording]

Parliament on Conditions for Talks

OW1411193891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 3" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting Thursday [14 November] morning the Chechen parliament issued a statement on the forthcoming talks with the Russian Federation. The statement says one of the main conditions for starting the talks is the recognition of the Chechen parliament and president by Russia.

State of Emergency Lifted; Martial Law Remains

PM1511094591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 1

[Special correspondent V. Tkachuk report: "Groznyy, 13 November"]

[Text] Groznyy—The state of emergency introduced by the Russian president has been lifted, but the martial law declared by the president of the Chechen Republic remains in force.

The formation of the armed forces continues. The home guard and regular units now number 62,000 men, as I was told by Lieutenant Colonel M. Merzhuyev, chief of staff of the Chechen Army. Apart from the "national guard," a combined arms division, and a "spetsnaz" unit (made up mainly of Afghanistan veterans) have been formed. There is a women's battalion, and even a tank brigade is being set up.

It was already reported that a few days ago 643 people, who had also decided to "defend the revolution," escaped from Naurskaya corrective labor colony. The headquarters of the fugitives are now located in the building of the All-National Chechen Congress.

In an interview with your correspondent, General D. Dudayev confirmed that the recognition of the lawful nature of the president's election and of the Chechen Republic's parliament is a mandatory condition for talks with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. When I asked whether a referendum will be held on withdrawal from the RSFSR, Dzhakhar Dudayev replied as follows: "If Russia recognizes the Chechen people's sovereignty and their right to their own statehood, then I am convinced that the majority of the population will want to be part of a Union republic within Russia. If Russia takes the wrong

road, it will lose not only us but the whole of the Caucasus, and all links will be severed."

Chief of Staff on Seizure of Military Property

PM1411145791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General A. Chernyshev, chief of staff of the North Caucasus Military District, by Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin, "near Groznyy" 11 November; "We Have Direct Contacts"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] When our correspondent conducted this interview 11 November near Groznyy, some entrances to district training center units under the command of Major General P. Sokolov were blockaded by the Chechen national guard.

What is life like for the troops in this situation? We discussed this with Lieutenant General A. Chernyshev, chief of staff of North Caucasus Military District.

[Chernyshev] District training center personnel are performing their tasks. This is possible due to the direct contacts that Gen. P. Sokolov and the republic's military commissar, Captain First Rank I. Deniyev, a Chechen national, have had with D. Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic. Questions are currently being resolved regarding providing personnel with food and ensuring that students can get to their classes a few dozen kms outside Groznyy, where soldiers, tank personnel, and artillerymen are trained (in the village of Shali).

[Astashkin] Against the backdrop of all these events there are plenty of rumors that unknown persons are trying to infiltrate military camps and attacking posts, guards, etc. What can you tell us about this?

[Chernyshev] There are indeed plenty of rumors, but here are the facts. Recently 300 winter uniforms and 300 gas masks were taken from a population center where property belonging to civil defense units was located. This was done on the pretext of needing to deploy Chechen national formations. Regrettably, other military property—communications systems, technical equipment, and vehicles—is also being taken. There have been attempts to capture tanks and to infiltrate posts containing equipment and armored vehicles. Admittedly, the situation has been normalized at this time.

[Astashkin] How has that been achieved?

[Chernyshev] Above all through direct contacts with D. Dudayev, by complaining to him about property being taken, and reminders that this property belongs to the USSR Defense Ministry.

[Astashkin] Now, one last question. How is the draft of young men from Checheno-Ingushetia for active military service going?

[Chernyshev] The draft has always gone fine in Checheno-Ingushetia, but lately there have been cases of insubordination. This is due to the Chechen Republic president's decree that draftees should serve in Checheno-Ingushetia, but there is a considerable draft contingent there. So it was decided in advance with D. Dudayev, but not ratified, that volunteers can also serve in other regions of the country. In short, we will also work together to resolve these tasks.

Rutskoy Disagrees With Parliament Decision

PM1411161791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 1

[I. Sichka report: "Aleksandr Rutskoy: 'I Have No Intention of Justifying Myself...' Russia's Vice President Disagrees With Republic Parliament Decision"]

[Text] I do not consider this decision (what is meant is B. Yeltsin's decree on the introduction of the state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia) as incorrect or ill-timed, Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy said at a meeting with journalists yesterday. His statement rang out in sharp discord with the Supreme Soviet decision and a statement by Yeltsin himself. Let me recall that on 11 November the parliament refused to approve the decree in question and resolved to set up a special commission to investigate the circumstances of its occurrence. The next day the president concurred with the Supreme Soviet decision and even promised to give the parliamentary commission every assistance.

Aleksandr Rutskoy continues to insist that the decree does not contravene existing legislation by a single letter, and it is difficult to disagree with this. It is true that from the legal viewpoint Yeltsin's decree is irreproachable and that everything that is happening in Checheno-Ingushetia is entirely outside the framework of the rule of law. At the same time, the vice president is carefully sidestepping the question of the political expediency of the decree, and it is this which is evoking the main misivings.

Under what circumstances did the decree come into being? It is possible to answer this question in general terms without waiting for the findings of the parliamentary commission. There is good reason to describe Vice President Rutskoy as the "godfather" of the decree. Following his visit to Groznyy, Aleksandr Vladimirovich instructed his apparatus to draw up a plan of measures to normalize the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia. On 6 November, according to Rutskoy, a cable arrived at Russia's "White House" from the Russian president's representative, Arsakov, with the request to provide assistance and to adopt measures in connection with the deterioration of the situation. Rutskoy phoned Yeltsin at home, and the latter asked whether the list of measures was ready. Having received a positive answer, he issued instructions that the decree be drawn up. The text was prepared by Rutskoy's apparatus and agreed with S.

Shakhray, state counselor for legal matters, and R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

A coded cable was promptly dispatched to Groznyy with instructions to detain General Dudayev and the leaders of the All-National Chechen Congress. The cable was signed by Stepankov, Russia's general prosecutor, Ivanenko, KGB chairman, and Dunayev, minister of internal affairs. It appears that Dudayev learned the content of this message, which prompted him to accelerate the formation of the national armed forces to safeguard his own security.

According to Rutskoy, there are now 8,500 armed in Checheno-Ingushetia. From where did this quantity of weapons appear in the republic overnight? It must be assumed that a large part has arrived and continues to arrive from neighboring territories, including Georgia. Quantities of Israeli-produced UZI submachine guns give grounds to believe that there are also channels for the supply of weapons from abroad. Furthermore, some 2,000 to 2,500 rifle were seized from stores located in the cellars of the building housing the republic KGB administration.

Aleksandr Rutskoy still considers it essential to continue to blockade Checheno-Ingushetia with the aim of preventing an influx of weapons. This may be a sensible measure, but in current conditions it is hardly a realistically enforceable one, and Aleksandr Vladimirovich would do better, it seems, to give up his conviction that there is no "difference between administrative management in the army and in society." [no opening quotation marks as published]

Says State of Emergency No Mistake

OW1411171791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 2" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy told foreign journalists at the RSFSR House of Soviets Thursday [14 November] that President Yeltsin's decree imposing a state of emergency on Checheno-Ingushetia "was no political mistake." He observed that the decree had marked a belated move, and that "Dudayev should have been arrested much earlier."

Mr. Rutskoy disagreed with the replacement of RSFSR People's Deputy Akhmed Arsanov as head of the Chechen-Ingush administration. He noted that Mr. Arsanov's coverage of the local crisis had been truthful.

The Russian vice-president said he had been told that the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev was planning a "peace march" on North Ossetia this coming Saturday [16 November]—an action that could hardly be entirely peaceful, Rutskoy warned.

He said a group of experts maintained that referendums on self- determination should be held in Checheno-Ingushetia, as well as in the rest of the North Caucasian republics. Should Mr. Dudayev ban the proposed referendum, the Chechen-Ingush Republic might find itself under an economic blockade, which Rutskoy sees as an alternative instrument of settling the local crisis.

Team Organized To 'Manhunt' RSFSR Aides

PM1411154591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Untitled POSTFACTUM and TASS reports under general headline: "Groznyy: Rally Over, Tension Remains"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to a claim by the POSTFACTUM agency, Dudayev has ordered three special teams to be established "to protect the sovereignty of the Chechen Republic." One of these has been sent to Moscow to take action against RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Internal Affairs Minister Dunayev, Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov, and Vice President Rutskoy. Citing Filatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the agency reports that the main task of this team, which includes representatives of Moscow's "mafia structures," is to go on a "manhunt." The second special group, according to the agency, will check up on persons living in Checheno-Ingushetia who do not support the establishment of a sovereign Chechen Republic and who personally oppose Dudayev. The third special group will study Dunayev's past in order to dig up compromising information. Dudayev's representatives are being sent to all former Russian autonomous formations to drum up support.

A TASS correspondent reports: A representative of Chechen Republic President Yakhyayev's press service stated in a speech on Groznyy television 12 November that "a number of Soviet special service staffers" who had allegedly been sent to Groznyy to destabilize the situation have been arrested there. Viewers were shown money, cards, and plans that had been confiscated from the detainees, and also their handwritten confessions. Chechen Republic security services are conducting an investigation.

Patrols in Groznyy; Troops From Georgia Arrive

LD1411200491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] On 14 November in Groznyy a joint session of the Chechen Republic's parliament and the Confederation of the Caucasus Hill People's took place. The session examined issues concerned with creating a single defense system against possible Russian agression and announced a moratorium on all internal Caucasian feuds. Militarized divisions from other Caucasus republics continue to arrive in the republic, particularly in

Groznyy. Today a large division of Chechens and Ingushes from Georgia arrived. At the same time joint patrolling on the streets has been introduced in Groznyy and on the territory of the Chechen Republic as of today. Representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the National Guard, and the Council of Elders have been appointed to the patrols. The introduction of joint patrols is explained, among other things, by the fact that locally the crime situation has increased unbelievably recently.

Russian Parliament To Send Delegation

OW1411214091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 4" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [14 November], the Russian parliament's Council of the Republic approved the makeup of a parliamentary delegation for talks with Chechen-Ingush political forces. The delegation is led by Yuriy Yarov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. At an evening meeting behind closed doors, the Council of the Republic heard a report by the Russian Interior Minister Andrey Dunayev on the fact that Major Viktor Tolstenev of the Chechen-Ingush KGB captured Tuesday [12 November] by supporters of General Dudayev was found dead in Groznyy yesterday.

Situation in Groznny Reportedly Stabilizing

LD1511024891 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznny November 14 TASS—Today it is perhaps the first day over the past two months when armed people are rarely seen on the streets and squares of the capital of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. The situation in other populated areas is also getting stabilised. These are the first reassuring results of the resolution passed by the Chechen Republic parliament on Wednesday [13 November] to ensure law and order in the towns and districts of the mountanious area.

Practically the entire National Guard has been withdrawn from Groznny and stays in barracks. Citizens who have weapons have been ordered to register them within ten days or bear responsibility under law.

The parliament also deemed it advisable to keep the current laws of the USSR, the Russian Federation and the Chechen-Ingush Republic in operation on the territory of the Chechen Republic if they do not contradict the declaration of the republic's sovereignty.

The parliament of the peoples of the Caucasian highland, meeting here, is also dealing today with purely military matters, discussing the formation and cooperation of armed people's formations throughout the Northern Caucasus.

"A threat of armed interference from the outside has not disappeared upon the cancellation of a state of emergency. Therefore martial law remains in effect on the territory of the Chechen Republic," Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev told TASS.

"We shall be able fully to change over to peaceful life only after Russia recognises our sovereign republic, equal talks are held, and treaties acceptable to the two sides, including defence issues, are concluded."

Dudayev is convinced that the defence potential of the former Union should remain undivided.

"Modern weapons are too formidable to be divided among individual regions," he said.

At the same time the situation remains tense in the city of Nazrani where a meeting has been going on for eighth day in a demand to expedite the implementation of Russia's law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples and to return to the Ingush their age-old lands that were taken away from them during the years of Stalinist arbitrariness and added to neighbouring North Ossetia.

Russian KGB To Investigate Tolstenev's Death

LD1411115291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Danilin]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)— The KGB leadership of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] is taking every measure to investigate the circumstances of the death of Major Viktor Tolstenev of the Chechen-Ingush KGB, Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Nikolayev, deputy head of the Public Relations Department of the RSFSR KGB, told a TASS correspondent today.

On 12 November officers of the Chechen-Ingush spcial purpose militia detachments [OMON] detained Tolstenev and found a pistol on him which the major was authorized to carry, but the OMON officers considered it a crime for the KGB officer to carry a weapon. It was stated that the people would judge him. Nevertheless, that night the body of the Chekist was delivered to the mortuary.

Russian Parliament To Discuss Death

OW1511025891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of the Republic of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has accepted the proposal of MP [member of parliament] Sergei Baburin to have the republic's Interior Ministry or KGB reoprt on measures taken in Chechen-Ingush to protect Russian citizens and officials. Mr. Baburin's proposal followed the lynching in Grozny

of Viktor Tolstenev, a Major of the Russian KGB. A few days before Chechen officials said over TV that the captured officer would be "tried by the people." On Wednesday [13 November], however, they reported that Mr. Tolstenev had been found dead.

Dudayev Gives KGB 24 Hours To Register

OW1511022891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] President of the Chechen Republic, General Dzhakhar Dudayev, has given the officers of the former KGB in the Chechen-Ingush Republic 24 hours to get registered at the republic's Defence Council. He announced this on November 13 on local TV. Those who fail to do so by 9 P.M., Moscow time, on November 14, will be persecuted, he said.

Mr. Dudayev said that this measure had been taken following the tragedy in the Chechen-Ingush University. A group of unknown people had kidnapped its Rector Viktor Kan-Kalik. Pro-Rector Abdula-Khamid Bisliyev, who tried to protect his colleague, was killed. Mr. Dudayev said that the crime had been committed by the terrorists "who operate jointly with the former KGB of the Chechen-Ingush Republic."

Speaking about food supplies, Mr. Dudayev said that there would be no hunger in the republic and that the population would be properly supplied with food. A few days ago, he said, the first trains brought food from Turkey with which contracts worth 9 billion dollars had been concluded.

Russian KGB Denies Knowledge of Arms in Area

LD1511024391 Moscow TASS in English 2209 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—The Russian KGB is not in the know about the sources of spreading arms in the Republic of Checheno-Ingushetia, where despite lifting the state of emergency, the situation remains extremely tense.

"The matter is that the KGB local department's actions have virtually been blocked by the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev's supporters who seized the KGB building," Nikolay Nikolayev, deputy chief of the Russian KGB public contacts office, told TASS.

"Some of the arms belonging to the KGB have also fallen into the invaders' hands. We have no communication with KGB officers in Groznny," a Russian KGB representative said.

According to a Union KGB spokesman, the so-called Defence Ministry of Checheno-Ingushetia replenished its arms and ammunition arsenals not only from the republican KGB stock. There are also other sources of "acquisitions": They are city and district departments of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs whose premises, as a rule, are taken by assault.

"At the same time the arms belonging to defense organisations, being a part of the USSR voluntary society for assisting Army, Air Force and Navy, are under reliable control. There are about one thousand pieces of firearms in the republic belonging to various defense organisations. It is not much, as compared with other regions. Almost half of them was handed over to the depots of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The rest of the arms are being kept in the local defense society organisations where necessary conditions are created for their safekeeping," said Colonel Adam Myslevets, representative of the USSR Central Council of Defense, Sports and Technical Organisations—legal successor of the USSR voluntary society for assisting Army, Air Force and Navy.

DOSAAF Weapons Under 'Secure Control'

LD1511100591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The weapons belonging to defense organizations, members of the former USSR DOSAAF [voluntary society for the promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] in Checheno-Ingushetia, are under secure control. Colonel Adam Maslevets, head of the department for the protection of public sites of the USSR Central Council of the Defense Sports and Technical Organizations, stated this to a TASS correspondent.

Provisional Supreme Council Dissolves Itself

LD1511144791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Our correspondent Tamara Aliyeva reports from Groznyy that the Provisional Supreme Council of the Chechen-Ingush Republic has dissolved itself. Arsamov, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president's former representative in the region, denies his involvement in the state of emergency decree and is demanding an official inquiry.

Commentary Blames 'President's Entourage'

LD1511054591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Commentary by Vyacheslav Osipov]

[Text] As you know, Akhmed Arsanov, the Russian president's representative in the Chechen-Ingush Republic, has been dismissed from his post by decree of Boris Yeltsin. He was dismissed for providing misinformation that formed the grounds for the introduction of the state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia. Vyacheslav Osipov is at the microphone with his commentary:

[Begin Osipov recording] As for the misinformation regarding the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia, a parliamentary commission is now investigating the underlying cause of what was an obviously insufficiently prepared decree on the introduction of a state of emergency. It seems to me that even during the debates at the Russian Supreme Soviet, many deputies intimated that not only was Arsanov not so much to blame, but rather people close to the president's entourage.

Let us trace the preparation of the decree. At a recent news conference, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy reported that letters and telegrams from Checheno-Ingushetia were received by the Russian authorities calling for assistance in stabilizing the situation. Without citing a single specific example, Rutskoy referred to a telegram from Arsanov dated 6 November. The decree was completed by 7 November. It only took one night to prepare. A document appeared with purely military efficiency, which literally exploded public opinion in Checheno-Ingushetia. Even if one allows that all means had been used to settle the worsening situation, as Rutskoy stated at the news conference, it seems to me that purely military categories ought not to have been resorted to, such as establishing a special entry and exit regime, guarding facilities, halting the activity of public organizations following preliminary warnings, etc.

It was well known that a certain part of the Chechens, in the form of the interim Supreme Council headed by Baudi Bakhmadov, opposed the election of Dudayev as president of the Chechen Republic—not Checheno-Ingushetia, but only the Chechen Republic. Here one can already see the violation of constitutional norms by General Dudayev. Hence, the problem ought to be settled rather than transforming recent supporters into today's opponents, especially since judging from certain reports, the dismissed Arsanov categorically opposed emergency measures. For some reason no one recalls this now, but Gen. Dudayev told a TASS correspondent that Democratic Russia and its president are correctly evaluating their mistakes. By mistakes he means the decree on the state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia, but what I want to ask is whether Dudayev himself will find the courage to admit the wrongness of some of his steps he made on the path to the presidency. At any rate, the law of the mountains and the moral code of a Dzhigit [Caucasian hero figure] oblige him to do so.

As far as Democratic Russia and the supremacy of the law in all things are concerned, they will only truly come about when purely commissar-like stinginess, ambition, and cruelty cease ruling the roost. Unfortunately these traits have become deeply rooted in our leaders, even though they may no longer be communist. [end recording]

Correction to 10 Nov Soviet Proceedings

WA1411171791

The following correction applies to the item published under the subhead "10 Nov Proceedings" under the headline "Supreme Soviet Debates Situation in Republic" in the RSFSR division of the 13 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 51 and 52:

page 52, column one, second full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...ended his speech. [new graph] Then Barannikov, USSR minister of...(correcting name of interior minister).

same page, same column, third full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...at 2135 GMT. [new graf] Barannikov was followed by... (correcting name).

Supreme Soviet

Highlights of 14 Nov Session Proceedings

LD1511034591

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2025 GMT on 14 November broadcast a scheduled 20-minute program of recorded highlights from the 14 November session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet at the Russian White House in Moscow.

At 2025 GMT the video showed the RSFSR Supreme Soviet meeting in progress. The meeting was chaired by an unidentified deputy, who said that today's meeting was to pass draft laws on environmental protection and people's education and to discuss the draft declaration on human and citizens' rights and freedoms. The chairman gave the floor to Varfolomeyev, chairman of the environmental committee, who was asked questions about the environmental law. A vote was taken and the draft law on the environment was passed in the first reading.

Deputy Velchik, deputy chairman of the science and education committee, was then shown delivering a report on education. He was asked questions by a deputy from the Kuzbass on whether there are any provisions for raising teachers' wages. Velchik said that the situation in education is complex. Deputy Nevlasov quoted figures on average wages in industry and suggested that teachers' wages be brought in line with industrial wages. Velchik was then asked about whether the school curriculum in the humanities is to be broadened and whether the law should protect the interests of parents and pupils. Velchik said that teachers should decide these things. Another deputy asked for how long the current law is to be effective and whether religious education will be introduced in schools. Another deputy suggested that the law on education should now be adopted. A vote was taken, and the law was adopted in the first reading.

The program concluded with a voiceover noting that the evening session took place behind closed doors. No account was given of the debate on the declaration of human rights and freedoms.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Chairs First 'New' Government Session

LD1511143791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] The first sitting of the new composition of the Russian Government is being held today in Moscow under the chairmanship of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. If you remember, at the last Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Congress of People's Deputies he was empowered to head the cabinet. Evidently, a new composition of the government will be formed. Since Yeltsin assumed the leadership, he has already appointed Burbulis as first deputy chairman, Gaydar as deputy for questions on the economy, and Shokhin as deputy for social policy.

Appoints New Ministers

LD1511145291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] According to information supplied by RIA, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has appointed new members of the republican government. Yegor Gaydar is the new minister of the economy and finances. He is also Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Government deputy chairman for economic reform. Andrey Vorobyev will head the Russian Ministry of Health.

A number of government members remain in their posts. For example, Andrey Kozyrev was reappointed head of the foreign policy department; Andrey Dunayev minister of internal affairs; and Viktor Ivanenko chairman of the RSFSR KGB.

Names Transport Minister, KGB Heads

OW1411194691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 3" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has appointed Vitaliy Efimov as Russian transport minister, Valeriy Yampolskiy as deputy chairman of the Russian State Security Committee and chairman of the Main Board on Personnel, Yuriy Bachurin as head of the Russian KGB economic service and Yuriy Chichelov as head of the Russian KGB Counterintelligence Board.

Government To Seek NATO Membership

OW1411213391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 4" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergei Stepashin, head of the Russian parliament's security committee, has said the Russian Federation will request associated NATO membership from the next session of the NATO Assembly. In his interview for the newspaper VECHERNY PETERBURG Mr. Stepashin said the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] government would also like to sign an agreement whereby NATO forces would be used to safeguard Russia's security, and another agreement on NATO assistance in the conversion of Russia's military-industrial complex to civilian production.

Once it became an associated member of NATO, Russia would join the work for transforming the bloc into a "largely political organization," Mr. Stepashin said.

According to him, the RSFSR will be seeking to converge into a trans-European military-political system, a process likely to be joined by the Ukraine and Belorussia in the near future.

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Current Issues

LD1411103591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1952 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Interview with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by RSFSR People's Deputy O.M. Poptsov; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, I find it pleasant to be here in this office.

[Khasbulatov] I do not!

[Poptsov] I can understand that. Everyone has his own feelings. That is natural. This is our first conversation—as we had agreed—since your election as chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted] How do you feel in your new post? What are your feelings now that the congress has receded somewhat into history? What are your feelings about the events of just two days ago—it was a tiring and exhausting session, I have to say.

[Khasbulatov] Let us face it, it was a rather dramatic session—first a word or two about the congress. You are right, of course. The congress has already receded into the past. You know that there was a very significant renewal of the Supreme Soviet. The third constitutional power—the Supreme Court—was finally elected, and your obedient servant was elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

It is, of course, hardly worth repeating that the general situation is rather hard and heated. Although I am not an an economist, I have always repeated that the main catalyst of our various condradictions is the poverty and want, which are getting worse and worse. It is only natural that various political and nonpolitical groups are springing up on the basis of this poverty, and at times they are openly antipolitical, most likely militarized, and they promise the people all sorts of good things under the sole condition that they are in charge.

This weakening of the executive power and representative power, about which much was said at the congress, results in these processes that have brought the Union to

the edge of destruction or, to be more precise, that have destroyed the Union. What we have been saying since August, if you remember—and I have said it over and over again—is that the borders of the crisis, from the point of view of the federal, state, and territorial structure, are coming closer and closer to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. This fact has already become a reality, and we are having to deal directly with the crisis in our federal structure.

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, during the congress, the package of ideas put forward in the president's address to the people and the congress was adopted. When the documents were being drawn up and when, putting it figuratively, the legislative support train was being assembled, was the chaiman of the Supreme Soviet confident of winning this situation, of consolidating the president's steps, of avoiding any opposition?

[Khasbulatov] I always rely on common sense. I think in these very complex conditions the congress will reach the right decision, following naturally a very serious debate which, as you remember, they have launched. Thus it took a day and a half to debate the socioeconomic and political situation in the RSFSR. Ultimately, the speakers and all deputies reached the conclusion that there is a need to endow the president with trust and to stress once more their confidence in him and endow him with certain room for maneuvering so that these measures—above all for the reform of the state's economic system—could be implemented. Frankly speaking, it is very difficult to be 100 percent sure. I think common sense will triumph and we will obtain agreement on those proposals that had been put forward by the president before the congress, and as you can see our expectations were justified by our deputies. In this sense, deputies have admittedly matured in the last 18 months. What is more, this maturing is taking place against the backdrop of the deteriorating general situation in the country. Perhaps this factor is also making them wiser and somewhat more restrained and provides certain food for thought. [passage omitted] Wisdom comes when a calamity becomes patent and real, when it is necessary to make concrete decisions. That is why you could see that the main package of proposals has been approved and adopted in relevant decisions, not in everything, of course.

You never get everything adopted! Naturally the Supreme Soviet's ability to perform supervisory functions must be retained. The Supreme Soviet, as the parliament, must completely perform its functions. I do not agree with the commentators and deputies who allege that the parliament has lost its role and its functions. On the contrary, the parliament, our Supreme Soviet, has acquired even more functions during this crucial period.

[Poptsov] The president was not just asking for special powers for himself but also for the Supreme Soviet.

[Khasbulatov] The Supreme Soviet does have its constitutional rights, and basically the decision does not infringe on its constitutional rights. These rights and very great powers of the Supreme Soviet have to be used wisely to support genuine radical and serious measures aimed at improving the people's lot and implementing in-depth reforms. I think the Supreme Soviet will show complete support. I am confident of that.

[Poptsov] The recent session was effectively the first session of the new and renewed Supreme Soviet. Once again it was a kind of literary debut. We heard a rather dramatic expression at the end of the first day, I seem to remember, when the chairman said: Well, I do not know; I am going to find it hard to get on with such a parliament! Was this an expression of despair or just tiredness? After all, the next day the chairman was quite different. Perhaps it was tiredness. The session ended at 2115.

[Khasbulatov] If we are talking about the same chairman—he could not have changed—it is the same person. Naturally you see we were discussing a rather unusual and dramatic issue, and moreover I had a personal interest in it. Incidentally, I think deputies were very delicate as far as I was concerned, but you see, in cases like this the chairman must protect the law. Like it or not, he should stand aside from certain short-term factors—from his personal feelings. Otherwise, he will cease to be a leader of the parliament. The tragedy of a leader of a parliament lies in the fact that he should be totally objective. He should subordinate to only one thing: the law. That is why there is an attractive side to it. It also has its tragic side when the chairman does not have an opportunity to express his views based on his personal stands that deputies, even chairmen of the committees and members of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, do have. Otherwise, he will lose not just his personal influence but his authority as a state figure. That is why I share this issue: the discussion of the introduction of the state of emergency.

In other words, the president's decree—adopted, of course, by executive power—has two sides. It is a completely artificial image, as if we are talking about the introduction of troops and the use of military force, which would lead to fatalities, etc.

Of course, neither the president nor the vice president thought about this. It never even occurred to them. The Supreme Soviet naturally rejected this at once. The other aspect was that both the president and the vice president acted as the situation required. Let us take a look at another incident. Let us look at the neighboring republics of Dagestan and Ossetia. A state of emergency was introduced in both republics. Why? To save human lives and to prevent a tragedy. There was no noise about either case in our ethnic or international press. Of course it was an unpleasant event, but it happened.

Yet in the Chechen-Ingush case, that act, that decree, was and has been received—under the influence of our

journalists—as a unilateral attempt to use forcible methods to defeat (?the will) of the people. I would reject this interpretation, and that was the part of the interpretation of the decree that I have denied. That is how things are. Naturally, answering your question, I would like to say that this fact was not fully considered. It was quite difficult for me to express my subjective view, but I could see that the interpretation of the decree was wrong. That is where... [changes thought] You could sense weakness in this interpretation. One had to explain it. Everyone wanted to read into it what he wanted with great earnestness as a result of very serious propaganda and under the influence of the ideas that someone wanted to use tanks, etc.

You see, the attempt to declare a state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia was first made a long time ago—in August. Both Yeltsin and I spoke against it then. That was still under the previous government. What was at issue then was the use of massive equipment, etc.

Why? Because we thought this would be exactly the thing that would lead to fatalities, and here for some reason they interpret it not as a state of emergency but as martial law, the use of firearms, murder, etc.

[Poptsov] I think we cannot deny the use of some sort of psychological influence. We will return to this very important issue of emotions when we talk about the press. Nevertheless, that crowd standing in front of the parliament was a tangible premonition of trouble, and to reproach a deputy who feels this trouble breathing down his neck— well we have to give the Chechens their due. Their behavior on the square was an example to all, I would say, in this situation; it was an example to all. [passage omitted]

[Khasbulatov] You see, you took upon yourself to defend the deputies.

[Poptsov] No criticism. No, no, I am just trying to understand.

[Khasbulatov] I am treating the deputies from the position that no one should criticize them. If someone criticizes them I would like it to be only me, and they can criticize me.

[Poptsov] We obviously disturb you.

[Khasbulatov] No, no. What I want to say is that I am the greatest defender of our deputies, their powers, and their rights, and let us, of course, immediately state our position. The stance of the Supreme Soviet was of course one of principle. Of course it was unquestionably right that the decree was rejected. That can be stated unequivocally, but they had to go through agonizing and very tragic debates in order to reach that conclusion. The president's decision was not made lightly, and the Supreme Soviet's decision was not made lightly either. That is the real point. You are quite right that each deputy was faced with agonizing deliberations as to how and why and what these events would lead to. It was a very difficult and, overall, a very sad and dramatic event.

One would like there to be no need for a state of emergency to be imposed. One would like such a necessity not to arise in the first place, but look at what is happening. Messages are coming in now. They have been coming in throughout these months. Yesterday a group of armed people broke into the university premises and the rector was shot—an old colleague of mine, by the way. He studied at the physics department of Moscow University. The rector was injured. The head of the ruling regime tried to distance himself and his people from this. Perhaps it is true. Perhaps they were not his people, but if thousands of firearms are being distributed among the population without any control then people can use them as they please.

[Poptsov] Yes, it is a problem.

[Khasbulatov] It is a problem. Can we really talk about law and order?

[Poptsov] I think the point regarding establishing control over the railroads in the decision by the Supreme Soviet was quite correct.

[Khasbulatov] Of course it is correct, but it is not enough. Not to mention the fact that it is quite unworthy to burst into my 80-year-old mother's house, for example, and try to dictate terms to her, as if she is in charge of me here at the Supreme Soviet. In other words, any uncontrolled regime that uses the cover of democratic steps to come to power discredits power as such, not to mention the fact that power very quickly disintegrates and dissipates. There must be legality. There must be law and order. Only then can the people, the citizens, be at peace. This is missing. It is not a matter of whether we recognize or not recognize. There is no order, no calm today. Dudayev should not swear that everything is all right on this issue, and our dear journalists should not sing like nightingales that everything is all right.

[Poptsov] [passage indistinct]

[Khasbulatov] No. Unfortunately things are by no means all right. A tragic situation is developing. That is what I mean.

[Poptsov] That is why the Supreme Soviet is, of course, quite right in announcing the need to implement some political measures and to continue negotiating. Of course this needs to be done until all the means and methods of political settlement have been exhausted. This is indisputable.

[Khasbulatov] There is no doubt about this, no doubt at all. This is also our policy, our position. As you have just said, the Chechens were standing here in front of the White House, the Supreme Soviet. For the first time in 73 years they had an opportunity to stand here and protest like this. No one attempted to disperse them; no one could. Why? Because if we had an imperial regime here they would not be standing there. Are we not trying

to establish a democratic regime? Does the decision of the Supreme Soviet not testify to the fact that we are indeed developing and widening democracy, in which all the people should be able to express their wishes through their vote, through free expression of their opinions? It is not just for some armed group of people to declare its own president, or whatever, by taking power by force. [passage omitted]

[Poptsov] I would like to speak rather seriously about the fact that you often say: We depend on the supnort of the press. [passage omitted]

[Khasbulatov] Oleg Maksimovich, first I would like to tell you that you know I have long been friends with journalists, with the television and the press, as you know from the history of our own press and the Russian television. It can be a pleasure to talk with journalists. I somehow feel confident and calm enough talking, however prickly the journalist may be. Of course, I do not think there is any opposition either to the Supreme Soviet or to the president on the part of our Russian press and television. You are right; I recall you said that I have been quite harshly critical...

[Poptsov, interrupting] To put it mildly.

[Khasbulatov] To put it mildly, yes. I assure you that it never entered my head that there is any kind of opposition, but you are right, and I am personally ready to do everything in my power to give our journalists freedom of action, whatever tendency they may follow. You may have seen—perhaps journalists were somewhat offended by the term—that I said that they need competence, a high degree of competence. We can understand, and I can understand, how much impact television, the press, and the radio have on people's thinking; you know this much better than I do. Of course, we need a high degree of competence, of caution, especially where issues such as ethnic problems are concerned. It can be vexing. Perhaps I was unduly harsh, you said I was, so I feel a little uncomfortable, and I am ready to take back some of what I said if I have offended anyone. I really have always supported and will continue to support, but I would like there to be greater understanding of our policy, as well.

It is not as primitive as they try to make it out to be. Just look today. I will not single out any particular papers. Again they are beginning to say: they should have done this and that; they should have done this to start with...

[Poptsov, interrupting] It is easy to give advice.

[Khasbulatov] Of course it is, but how have things been developing in my native Checheno-Ingushetia? At least 15 deputies' groups have made visits there, at all levels, including the procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Who has not been there? The vice president has, and your humble servant has. By the way, at my meeting with General Dudayev we virtually reached agreement, not just with him, but with all the other sociopolitical forces.

[Poptsov] That was the impression (?in Moscow), that you had reached agreement after the meeting.

[Khasbulatov] We did reach agreement, and there are witnesses—(Poltoranin), Burbulis, and the deputy procurator general. We reached agreement with all sociopolitical forces. We kept agreeing on things. They had already disbanded the Supreme Soviet by that time; it had already been dissolved, and we came to an agreement: let us convene it, some legal, legitimate authority, some interim committee which would deal with one question only, the question of preparing for fresh elections to the Supreme Soviet. We will help. They will prepare for a legislative authority and convene the new Supreme Soviet. The new Supreme Soviet would issue certain laws. Elect yourselves a president in accordance with the will of people. Agreed? Yes, agreed. We flew out, and the next day it turned out that all the decisions had been undermined, and everything (?fell apart). This is an agonizing process. I am repeating all this not to reproach anyone but to understand the inner logic. The material is very complicated.

[Poptsov] Yes of course, as far as you...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] As far as one could make out, yes, the vice president went there, the chairman went there, things got worse, etc.; this is the kind of thing that fuels such unhelpful statements and evaluations and undermining of authority, not of specific persons, but of authority, undermining the prestige of statehood and of the law.

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, I think nevertheless that the situation is as follows: You understand that the democratic forces have been in opposition for a long time, a long time. The press, which was the accompanying principle of these democratic forces, was also...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Yes, now...

[Poptsov, interrupting] Now the democratic forces have become the authority, and the press—in the press, naturally, this momentum of opposition thinking, if you like, remains.

[Khasbulatov] You are absolutely right.

[Poptsov] It seems to me, and it worries me very much, that authority is beginning to react selectively. You see the canvas passing before you and you say: I do not like that particular point. That particular point is not true. That is the moment when opinions about the whole canvas are made on the basis of one particular point which may well in fact be wrong. It might be.

[Khasbulatov] It might be, it might be. Oleg Maksimovich, I believe that criticism should take place at all levels. You know I have never said anything outwardly, at any rate, in connection with the fact that I am criticized personally. Yes, they are right to criticize, but let us make accurate assessments. That is the only appeal I make. You have to agree that it is not much to ask for.

[Poptsov] I think we will agree that it ought to become the practice for Khasbulatov to have a meeting, not for the purposes of being interviewed, but simply in order to talk to journalists on Russian television.

[Khasbulatov] With great pleasure, of course.

[Poptsov] Incidentally, on the question of the opposition: Two days ago a decision was made by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, giving its agreement to the recall of Deputy Baburin. I will give you my own point of view. I consider that that should not have been done, although I have enormous respect for the opinion of the 12,000 voters or however many of them there may be. I think, however, that this is a healthy principle for this is where the discussion starts; that is what we say. We start saying that there is supposedly some conflict between the president and the parliament. Each time we hear: No, this conflict does not exist. Usually, when something does not exist it does not get talked about.

[Khasbulatov, laughing] You are absolutely right.

[Poptsov] The question boils down to this: I think in fact you said that there should be normal dialogue and constant dialogue between the president and the parliament and there must be constant dialogue with some of the opposition in parliament, with representatives of the opposition.

Baburin is a representative of the opposition. Why not?

[Khasbulatov] You know this question also has its own particular coloring, bearing in mind that throughout a very long session—during the first stage of the congress and the second stage from the congress—Sergey Nikolayevich Baburin was my rival, my opponent. Incidentally, when documents came in even before the congress about his recall—and the necessary number of votes was collected although there were some clashes and some disagreements with different people—the lawyers and the commission checked it all and everything seemed to be alright. For me this was a distasteful issue. As you see, the last stage of the congress went on with an air of unity. Generally, our country is facing great trouble which has already taken over the country. Of course, we should not now be getting entangled in such electoral issues. Therefore, I personally would agree with your view.

By the way, the night before the congress I gave an interview to an Omsk newspaper. I told them that in my view we do need an opposition in the parliament, although, as you have just said, we would like to have a constructive one, a helpful one—not just the one that simply rejects everything we are trying to do here. Nevertheless, I think that we now recognize that we have an enormous responsiibility in the face of great trouble—our minds are united on this. Here our voters could come together, offer some criticism, and meet Baburin and other deputies. In my opinion, it is better not to start this. This procedure involves recalling the deputy. Moreover, we have been working already for nearly two years, and we are close to the middle of our tenure. God help us to go through this middle period and the remaining course. After all, the main thing now is to find ways to help the executive powers and the parliament, as well as for our local authorities to find the means of getting out of the economic crisis. This is the first problem; the second problem that worries me and the Supreme Soviet is the crime situation, especially organized crime. I shall say it straight—and I hope the law-enforcement bodies will not be offended—but my impression is that they have lost control over this business of crime fighting in general.

[Poptsov] First the government loses control, then its parts lose control—it is natural.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, it is precisely these executive structures that are connected with fighting crime. I think they have lost more opportunities in that struggle than any other part of the executive apparatus.

[Poptsov] I want to ask you one more question, a very important one. It would seem that the theme of the Union as some imagine has now receded into the past, but I think that all this is very relative—and there are various points of view of the common economic space, of Russia's autonomous movement. I am profoundly convinced that even if it is autonomous it will not be long lasting. Tell me, how do you expect this process to proceed? At what point will there be a lower point of separation? Will unification take place at some point? Is participation, say of the mass media, in this process evident, at least in principle?

[Khasbulatov] You see, as an economist who has professionally dealt both with markets and with processes and theories of integration, I am absolutely convinced that ahead of us lies unification, first of all within the context of the creation of a truly free economic space and then of a legal space, on a democratic basis, if one can put it like that: of a democratic legal space which truly ensures the integration process. I forecast things for myself as follows: This process, apparently, will begin two to three years from now, but it is inevitable. It is inevitable because the entire world trend shows that states are striving toward integration and that the process of the division of labor demands such integrated efforts by nations, peoples, and states, etc.

[Poptsov] Europe is discussing the problems of a single monetary unit.

[Khasbulatov] Of course it is like that. They discuss everything. As far ago as 1982, strictly speaking, they adopted a plan to that effect. That is why the first stage has already passed for them. Now it is a matter of creating and endorsing a single unit which will be a genuine currency, but you see, the most important thing is that our republics, the Union republics, and the autonomous republics, are really tired of the yoke of totalitarianism. They think that it will only do them good if they strike out on their own, that it will solve many problems.

It is possible that this process is historically determined and inevitable, but it will be a very brief historical stage because a new, unifying tendency is already emerging. This is inevitable, especially in our conditions where the economic relations are so interwoven that any attempt to live on one's own will only lead to further deterioration of the standard of living. So it is not surprising that the leaders of practically all the republics say that we must preserve some sort of economic unity, but in order to preserve this economic unity we need the necessary political, supra- national, supra-state bodies. Let us call them coordinating bodies at first, but coordination also has a specific function of power. This process is inevitable. The new unifying process will develop here alongside the disappearance of the old structures of power and management.

Politicians at all levels must be ready to comprehend this reality instead of cherishing illusions of somehow surviving outside time and space. Therefore, neither I, nor Boris Nikolayevich, as far as I know, have ever been among those people who believed that we could develop only in isolation from all the other republics. Although the RSFSR has the greatest potential if it were to choose this isolationist way, but cannot allow itself this. Even the U.S. is involved in an active integration process. There is the Canadian-U.S. and the U.S.-Mexican space. This country, the United States, is very actively involved in the whole Asian-Pacific ocean region, not to mention in West Europe; you know this very well yourself. At any rate, if we talk about our joining the world civilization, we will probably not be able to do it one by one. [passage omitted on Poptsov question]

The central administration in effect lost its functions of power over the Union republics long ago. The only thing that it controls are partial functions over the RSFSR, and we, by our perhaps rather inconsistent actions, make it possible for these structures to exist at a time when they should have been transformed quite rapidly and effectively, just leaving them with coordinating functions concerning all the republics and not just the territory of the RSFSR.

This paradox has been apparent for a long time; that is how things were, at least since before the August period; the central administration lost its power over the republics before August.

[Potsov] Yes, yes.

[Khasbulatov] It is we here in Russia who received some—although not as much as it seems—but a certain amount of powers after the tragic events in August, but it was necessary to consolidate them. In the first instance the legislative basis was created even before August. In this sense the Supreme Soviet was consistent. Despite very difficult conditions we adopted a very large number of legislative acts consolidating the autonomy of the RSFSR, and it is necessary to use these. They are not operating. Why not? Because the executive power is not putting them into action. Therefore, I agree that it is necessary to strengthen the presidential power; it is necessary to consolidate the executive structure in the localities, but it is also necessary to strengthen representative power. At times we speak too much about the executive power. The executive power will not be a power if it is not based upon a strong, serious, authoritative representative power.

[Poptsov] The last question, Ruslan Imranovich. What did your wife say when you came home, tired after your election? What were her words apart from congratulations?

[Khasbulatov] You know she said [laughs]... she said: Well, now you are really done for.

[Poptsov] Oh well.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, and you know frankly speaking, all this is.... [changes thought] After all, one should realize, and young politicians should realize, that power is, first and foremost, responsibility before the people, the fatherland, and the electors. It is a great responsibility. It is one thing being an observer, but it is another matter when you have all the burden of this power on your own shoulders.

[Poptsov] I would put it this way: Power is not a joy but an eternal anguish.

[Khasbulatov] It is not a joy, it is not a joy. Here I think there should be.... [changes thought] I have always proceeded from the fact that politics can be and must be moral. I have never shared a view that politics is a purely dirty business. That is why, no matter what, one should proceed from the fact that politics should be cleared of immorality.

[Poptsov] Let us embark on this road together. Thank you.

[Khasbulatov] Let us. That is why I once again appeal to the press. Please, do not think that I am not your supporter. God knows I am. On the contrary, I regard our press as a very serious aide in implementing the process of reforms and in developing democratic beginnings in our state.

[Poptsov] As they say, we will end our conversation on this optimistic note. Thank you very much.

[Khasbulatov] Thank you.

Nationalist Leader Zhirinovskiy on Goals

PM141117309l Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Nov 91 p 9

[Report on interview with Russian nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by Halvor Tjonn in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—"Russia and Norway ought to have a longer common border. When I come to power I will think about giving a part of Finnish Lapland to

Norway," Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said. "In six months I will be president of Russia," he predicted.

The leader of Russia's ultranationalists, Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, makes no secret of his ambitions: Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev will be pensioned off. Vytautas Landsbergis will be exiled. Zhirinovskiy himself will take over power in Russia, restore the former borders from the czarist era, and get the country on its feet again.

In the past, few people took Zhirinovskiy seriously, but in June this year he came in third in the Russian presidential elections and won more than 6 million votes. As a result he was suddenly a nationally known politician. Now he is putting all his efforts into promoting his extremely nationalist program. He is hoping to attract supporters in much greater numbers as the Russian economy collapses. The situation in Russian is now so unstable that no one dares write off this political wild man.

Attending Zhirinovskiy's news conferences is a unique experience, to put it mildly. When he invited the Moscow press to meet him in one of Moscow's cinemas this week, he began his performance very cautiously. After a short while he turned up the volume. Even if you position yourself 20 to 30 meters away from the garrulous politician, the decibels soon begin to hurt your ears. Questions from the hall are answeed in a sentence or two, followed by tirades about what will happen when Zhirinovskiy himself takes power. When the monologue starts to deal with the injustice being done to the Russian people, he begins to scale the heights. He gesticulates with his hands and his words come like bullets from a machine gun; it is rightly said that he speaks three times faster than all his political rivals.

"In the spring Boris Yeltsin's regime will collapse. Tens of millions of hungry and unemployed Russians will sweep him aside. The economic program which Yeltsin has proposed will accelerate his fall. Russia is moving toward a total economic collapse.

"The only positive thing is that Yeltsin has set a date for getting his program to work. He is asking for a year. I give him six months. That is when the bells will ring the death knell for his regime."

In Zhirinovskiy's eyes Gorbachev and Yeltsin have betrayed the Russian people: "I will let them keep their cars and dachas, but they must hand over the government of the country to others. As far as separatist leaders like Vytautas Landsbergis and Nursultan Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan are concerned, I will let the international airport in Moscow stay open for 72 hours after I come to power. After that a state of emergency will be declared. If Landsbergis and Nazarbayev have not left the country by then, so much the worse for them.

"When I take power, law and order will be restored," Zhirinovskiy continued. "Every week the mafia from the Caucasus republics kills taxi drivers in Moscow. In Volgograd people of the southern nationalities are running amok and are killing young Russian men. My solution to the Caucasus problem is as follows: Let us pull our troops out. Let us instead let the Caucasians kill each other rather than our boys! If the Caucasians want a bloody solution, let them have one," he cried.

According to Zhirinovskiy, everyone and everything is conspiring against Russia. The countries of the West do not escape his condemnation. He scornfully dismissed the aid the West is currently planning to send to Moscow: "The West is laughing at us! Away with Pepsi and McDonalds! The West's aim is to crush Russia! But its current maneuverings could end tragically for the West too. Five hundred years ago the West Europeans let the Muslims get as far as Constantinople. That ended with the Muslims conquering large parts of Europe. That could also be the outcome this time," he said.

The fundamental idea in Zhirinovskiy's program is to bring together under one leadership—his own—all the peoples who were once inside the borders of czarist Russia or the Soviet Union. Finland would also be incorporated in the new Greater Russia. In an interview with AFTENPOSTEN, Zhirinovskiy said that he would like to see greater cooperation between Norway and Greater Russia. "The Russian-Norwegian border should be made longer. This could happen through Norway being given parts of Finnish Lapland for which we ourselves have no use," he said. Zhirinovskiy also called for cooperation with Norwegian politicians. "We have good contacts in many European countries, but for some reason or other we have not succeeded in establishing relations with Norway," he added.

If Zhirinovskiy wants to get rid of some of the wilds of Finland, he is a fanatical opponent of giving the Kuril Islands back to Japan. The day the Japanese send soldiers to the Kurils, Russia will counterattack, he said. A suitable punishment for the Japanese would be to conquer Japan's northernmost island, Hokkaido, and incorporate it into the Sakhalin administrative dictrict. As far as the separatist republics such as the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the Baltic states are concerned, Zhirinovskiy has his solution worked out: "I will introduce an economic blockade to force the Baltic region to return to Russia. I would use military means to solve the problem of Kazakhstan. Against the Ukraine I would use some military means and some economic measures."

From his 90-minute monologue it was clear that in his future Russia Zhirinovskiy clearly sees before him a clear hierarchy of national groups. Every people should find what he called a "natural place" in the hierarchy. "If a people is good at cattle breeding, let them do that. If we Russians can engage in space research, let us do what we are able to do, he said in his characteristic fashion: "If the Muslims want four wives, let them have them. The world will be a happy place if each people is allowed to arrange things in a way that is natural for them."

Again and again Zhirinovskiy returned to what he will do when—and, according to Zhirinovskiy himself, this will be fairly soon—he takes over power in Russia. New spheres of influence must be established, and according to the nationalist leader, Russia's natural route of expansion is to the south.

He ended with the following salvo: "A year ago I was in Turkey. On Turkey's beautiful beaches I saw thousands of German and Italian tourists. These beaches should instead be recreational areas for Russian workers!"

KGB Officers Running Stock Exchanges

LD1511031491 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—The all-Russian stock exchange centre and the stock exchanges subordinated to it are headed by officers of the State Security Committee (KGB), a former officer of the KGB writes in the 40th issue of the STOLITSA magazine. The author of the article preferred to remain anonymous.

The Russian trade house is the godfather of the all-Russian stock exchange centre. It developed from the "Ant" cooperative, which ceased to exist after a scandal with the attempted export of tanks, the article said.

The magazine claims that vice president of the all-Russian stock exchange centre Mikhail Boldyrev and its senior finance executive Igor Chukhlantsev are KGB senior officers. President of the secondary raw materials exchange created under the supervision of the centre, Aleksandr Sumskoy is said to be a KGB capitan. In addition, the centre holds a controlling block of stock of the all- Russian real estate exchange. According to the article, KGB officers make up 75 per cent of staff members of the all-Russian stock exchange centre.

Apparently the centre created a network of institutions for channelling and laundering money for the KGB, the military-industrial complex and, quite probably, the Soviet Communist Party. Previously the centre used to transfer large sums of money abroad, mostly to Budapest, where it has its office. The money was turned into hard currency there and put into circulation.

STOLITSA expressed hope that the Russian parliament and the commissions investigating the work of the KGB would take up the case and establish the truth.

Defense Committee Included in Government

LD1411150791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] By a decision of the Russian Government on 13 November, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for the Issues of Defense is being temporarily included in the RSFSR Government structure until the RSFSR Ministry of Defense is established.

State Licensing Committee To Control Trade

OW1511144291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0750 GMT 15 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The State Licensing Committee of the Russian Federation, which was set up in September, will become the central and only body to control export and import policy in the Soviet Union's largest republic.

According to Mr. Viktor Yaroshchenko, the committee's chairman, Russia should begin licensing trade with the former Soviet republics on Jan 1. He is also in favour of retaining licenses for the export of raw materials and metals.

The committee, which at present has a staff of 160, is preparing to issue licenses for shipments to other former Soviet republics.

At present, the republics are reselling various natural resources, bought in Russia for rubles, for hard currency, said Mr. Yaroshchenko. He quoted the example of Georgia which purchased 140,000 tons of Siberian coal from Kemerovo and sold it to Turkey for $17 a ton, while Russia was exporting it for $40 a ton. Lithuania, he said, continued to sell Russian oil, received from Moscow to meet its domestic requirements, while the Ukraine sold off 5-7 million tons of the 55 million it had received.

It is precisely for these reasons, explains Mr. Yaroshchenko, that Russia will in the first instance license the export of energy resources, raw materials, and supplies: "Otherwise, the whole of our transport system, our agriculture and our building industry could come to a halt."

After the introduction of internal convertibility for the ruble, when each importer will be obliged to buy foreign currency from the state at market rates to pay for foreign imports, the number of licenses issued should drop sharply and may then be limited only to "certain groups of goods."

Russia, he said, will try to retain a single customs zone throughout the Soviet Union and a certificate of origin will be required for all goods to be exported.

If the republics turn down the proposal to retain a single currency and fail to observe the rules on the issuing of national currencies without damaging the ruble, Russia will begin trading in convertible currency. "And that is something no republic other than Russia can do," Mr. Yaroshchenko said.

"I believe that what is needed here is firmness, otherwise we'll never get out of the mess we're in."

Mr. Yaroshchenko said that the decree on the liberalization of foreign trade, which is part of the package of reforms announced by Mr. Yeltsin, should be very

carefully drawn up. The draft decree envisaged the complete abolition of export quotas, licenses, and taxes on all goods and raw materials. "If export taxes are done away with and there is no licensing, then everything will disappear from the Russian markets," Mr. Yaroshchenko argued, keeping in mind the difference between internal Soviet prices and world prices and the weakness of the ruble. "With the ruble taking a headlong dive, enterprises are rushing to sell their raw materials and goods abroad at give-away prices," he warned.

Russia will maintain the licensing system in regard to the following 14 commodities: coal, oil, petroleum products, natural gas, timber, saw timber, mineral fertilizers, copper, zinc, tin, primary aluminium, nonferrous scrap, grain, and vegetable oils.

The chairman of the Licensing Committee warns that "as the market becomes saturated" Russia will increase import licensing "so as to protect its own electronics, engineering, and automobile industries."

Russia's Government has decreed that the committee exercise the following responsibilities:

—licencing of exports to and imports from certain countries of certain goods;
—licencing of deliveries of certain goods to the markets of the states which have signed the Agreement on an Economic Community;
—assigning of quotas for imports and exports of goods and services.

Jointly with the customs authorities, the committee will exercise control over compliance with the licences issued and quotas assigned, and will regulate barter transactions and the operations of commodity and stock exchanges.

The State Licencing Committee has been charged by the Russian Government with the registration and maintenance of the register of participants in external economic activities, the drawing up and updating of a classification of products traded in external transactions, and with devising both tariff and nontariff measures designed to regulate these activities on the republic's territory.

The committee is responsible for accreditation of foreign firms and organisations on the territory of Russia, and will maintain liaison with the official foreign-trade agencies of the Economic Community's member-states, with other countries' trade representatives in the republic and with Russian trade representatives abroad.

The State Licencing Committee will take part in the drawing up of the republic's international agreements; in advising the republican authorities on accession to agreements on trade and economic cooperation; in the work of international economic organisations, and intergovernmental commissions on trade, economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with foreign countries and will be responsible for reception of foreign delegations arriving in Russia to discuss matters related to its external economic ties.

The State Licencing Committee will maintain a consolidated republican data bank on licences issued.

Procedures for the Issuance in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] of Licences for the Export and Import of Goods and Services

1. The procedures for the issuance of licences for the export and import of goods set forth in the present document shall be applied consistently throughout the RSFSR.
2. The RSFSR's quota-setting and licencing procedures shall be applied consistently throughout the republic's territory and shall be based on uniform lists of goods subject to licencing, a uniform system of establishing and assigning quotas, and a uniform licence issuing system.
3. The issuance of licences shall be carried out in accordance with the lists of goods and services subject to licencing approved by the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR.
4. The powers to issue licences on the territory of the RSFSR shall reside in the State Licencing Committee of the RSFSR and its authorised regional branches.
5. Licences shall be issued to exporters and importers (i.e., entities which have signed contracts for the export and import of goods and services) which are registered in the State Register of the RSFSR, the USSR or other union republics as participants in external economic activities. Licences may not be transferred to other legal entities.

The Following Shall Constitute Sufficient Grounds for the Issuance of a Licence:

a) for goods subject to licencing:
—a state order
—instructions given by the government of the RSFSR to a producer enterprise;
—a quota assigned according to established procedures by the Council of Ministers of a republic within the RSFSR, or by the local authorities of a region, province or the city of Moscow to a producer enterprise or exporter organisation for the export of goods produced on their territory;
—a contract between a producer enterprise and an exporter organisation, calling for the delivery to the latter of goods to be exported;

b) for special goods and services:
—a decision of the proper ministry or other agency of the RSFSR.

Enterprises and organisations may be granted general and nonrenewable licences.

The only grounds for the issuance of a general licence shall be a state order or instructions by the government of the RSFSR calling for the export or import of goods.

Only nonrenewable licences shall be issued in all other cases.

A licence shall apply to one product only irrespective of the number of products provided for in the contract. Only in rare cases shall a general licence cover several products.

Privatization Concerns Trade Union Plenum

LD1511135491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)—Participants in the plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Trade Union for workers in trade, public catering, and consumers' cooperative societies which took place in Moscow today expressed their grave concern over instances of gross violations of the law on privatization in a number of regions of Russia.

A statement sent by the plenum to Boris Yeltsin, the president of the republic, points out that the local authority bodies in Novgorod, Rostov-on-Don, Sakhalin, and a number of other Russian regions frequently ignore the rights and interests of the labor collectives who are trying to carry out privatization. Without cause they refuse them the right to establish joint-stock companies and partnerships, refuse them the right to purchase enterprises, and do not provide them with legal benefits.

The statement contains a request that the RSFSR president strengthen in the normative documents the priority to be given to labor collectives in the privatization of trade and public catering enterprises.

Officials Comment on Yeltsin Reform Plans

Gaydar on Price Liberalization

PM1411163591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under "Country Panorama" rubric: "Yegor Gaydar on Price Formation"]

[Text] "Each day's delay on liberalizing prices only exacerbates the situation," Yegor Gaydar, Russian vice premier for questions of economic policy, believes. Addressing the second congress of the "Democratic Russia" movement, he said that free prices should be introduced for the maximum number of commodities. Price regulation must extend only to sectors where there is no competition—such as power generation, housing and municipal services, communications, and also petroleum and petroleum products—since, according to Gaydar, "otherwise there will be an overall 10-fold to 12-fold leap in prices." Among foodstuffs, only the prices of bread and possibly salt and milk will be regulated. Gaydar emphasized that the introduction of liberalized prices must be linked with a change in the taxation system and also with social measures—primarily an increase in pensions and the lifting of restrictions on growth in wages.

Bank Chairman on Currency Reform

PM1511105191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report on interview with Georgiy Matyukhin, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Bank Board, by Yelizaveta Leontyeva under the "Prognosis" rubric; place and date not given; "It Cannot Be Ruled Out That We Will Have a Striped Ruble"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] When expounding his program for reforming the banking system, Boris Yeltsin mentioned two possible options. The first and most desirable is creating a single interstate bank for the whole ruble zone. If agreement for the introduction of that option is not achieved, it will be necessary to use the second option—the Russian State Bank will assume responsibility for money emission. In that event will Russia be able to establish its control over the issue of rubles in cash and credit form? It will, although this will be difficult, Georgiy Matyukhin, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Bank Board, replied.

We will be able to take control of non-cash payments as of 1 January 1992, he believes, and after that date we will have a balance of payments with all the republics (states). We are altering all the computer programs for that now, but it is still necessary to train people and test the entire system in operation. It is becoming clear here that giving credit to a republic means we are feeding it. Before we did not have a balance of payments and everyone argued with one another about who is feeding whom. Now, for example, if the balance shows that Azerbaijan is giving us credit, that means it is feeding us. When that is clarified the question of how to regulate the balance arises: either by additional supplies of goods or by some other agreed means.

It is far more complex to establish control over cash circulation. New Russian money? It is possible to take this path, but it will take about five years to replace the existing cash in circulation or else it will be necessary to spend several billion dollars printing this money abroad. Admittedly, there is also the method of issuing marked [markirovannyy] rubles—this could be arranged within a year. Meanwhile, both these rubles and the others will be in circulation together.

Can this process be called a monetary reform? Yes, to some extent, but here the question of the rate between the marked and unmarked rubles arises. I understand that this worries the population very much and for that reason initially the rate must be one to one. We must protect the Russian population and enable them to exchange their savings using that ratio.

Then the rate, I believe, will change—roughly as happened during the reform of 1922-1924, when the chervonets [10 ruble banknote issued between 1922-1947] was issued. The chervonets rate rose rapidly then. Is this process—the changing of the rate—inevitable? Not at all, but if a different price policy develops in our republics it is inevitable. In any event, Russia must be ready for any option.

I personally am against issuing a Russian ruble. It is bad enough that this will take a long time, be costly, and furthermore be extremely complex in the following sense. If we printed purely Russian money, the problem of the rate of the new ruble against the old ruble arises immediately. If marked rubles are issued gradually, we can use this time to get our bearings regarding price policy. Otherwise the rate will have to be fixed immediately, but that is not an easy thing to do; we have virtually no specialists familiar with determining foreign currency rates, and as soon as we establish that rate it will immediately become a regulator of the economy and could cause imbalances within it or, conversely, iron them out. It could cause a sharp intensification of the export of everything that only Russia has or else it may considerably increase imports.

Therefore, coming back to the need to use marked money, I want to repeat: Everything will be done to ensure that the Russian population does not suffer, but, I repeat, much here will depend on how relations are formed with other republics. If they begin to introduce their own currency, dump rubles on us, and lay waste to our stores, we will have to establish a rate quickly; that is, we will declare that only banknotes overprinted with stripes are accepted on Russian territory, and if you bring in different money you will have to go to the bank and exchange it. Then we will see that if the demand for "striped" money is great the price will be raised. For example, we will sell our "striped" ruble for several conventional rubles. That is the normal, generally accepted form of exchange.

Incidentally, Georgiy Matyukhin is worried that the Baltics, the Ukraine, and several other republics are already dumping their rubles on Russia and that we are wasting time.

Trade Union Head on Draft Decree

LD1511120591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Russia's Independent Trade Unions, has appealed to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president in connection with the president's draft decree on creating a republican fund for the social protection of population.

According to this document, a considerable amount of money is being taken out of the fund for the social insurance of trade unions. According to the federation chairman, this will complicate the procedure of paying all kinds of benefits to working people, including temporary disablement allowances. It will lead to the closure of special-diet cafeterias and the reduction of subsidies for rest and recreation homes.

Apart from that, more than 2,000 sports schools for children and the majority of children's health camps will be closed. The Council of the Federation of Russia's Independent Trade Unions thinks that the draft of the present decree is untimely. It also aggravates social tension, says the letter from the chairman of the Federation of Russia's Independent Trade Unions.

Faction Leaders on Party Ban

PM1511123591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 p 1, 3

[Report by Ye. Sorokin and A. Shinkin, including comments by coordinators of deputies' factions: "Party Ban. Dangerous Precedent"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidential decree on banning the activity of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party on Russian territory was not actually a surprise to anyone. The entire course of events since the August putsch was ultimately geared toward this. In basing his decision solely on primary parliamentary hearings Yeltsin not only flouted the law on public organizations but also created a dangerous precedent for seeing off any dissent.

We are well aware of the worth of the party, which was fitted into an administrative-edict based system of which it formed the foundation, but likings and personal factors are poor counsellors when making such decisions. The CPSU can be described as a criminal organization a million times over, but these will be mere words until a court ruling, which there has not been yet. What do deputies think of the Russian president's decree? We put this question to the coordinators of deputies' factions registered at the Fifth Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. They now have the floor.

Andrey Golovin, "Smena":

"Our faction sent a letter to Boris Yeltsin back when he issued a number of decrees, including the one suspending the activity of the CPSU. Incidentally, we sent a copy of this letter to many editorial offices, but not a single one decided to publish it, apart from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which published it in abridged form. We did not send it to PRAVDA, since we, you will forgive me, have no particular liking for it. The president has not yet answered our letter. Admittedly, on our initiative an item on the RSFSR president's decrees has been placed on the session agenda. S. Shakhray, state counsellor for legal questions, has also stated that a number of them are unconstitutional. Our attempts to meet with him on this and a number of other topics has not been crowned with success.

"As far as the citing of parliamentary hearings in the decree banning the CPSU is concerned, that is no argument. The CPSU operated within the law, moreover for many years its activity was consecrated by Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. It was essential to proceed from this position when making the decision to ban the party. It was possible to eliminate the CPSU as a state structure. There is no question there, but only a court, and no one else, can ban the Communist Party as a public organization.

"Our deputies' group discussed this question prior to the parliamentary hearings. We made the decision not to participate in this matter as a faction."

Vladimir Serdyukov, "Rossiya":

"A number of our faction's deputies signed the request to the RSFSR Constitutional Court that the presidential decree banning CPSU activity be revised. The point is that in adopting this decree people were governed more by 'revolutionary expediency' than the law."

Vladimir Zakharov, "Agrarian Union":

"We just received the decree. Personally, no questions arose in my mind after reading it. In my view, all the 'i's are dotted and 't's are crossed in it. I would not like to comment over the phone."

Aleksandr Kosopkin, "Workers Union":

"The presidential decree banning the Russian Communist Party can be looked at from two angles: legality and the pressing imperatives of today. While the juridical aspect of the decree does give rise to some doubts, from the standpoint of the period of economic reforms, it is justified. It is no secret, after all, that the Russian Communist Party cleaved to the most reactionary slogans, and whatever form of revival or name it assumes, it has remained, in my view, essentially the same conservative force in society. As far as the reforms which the Russian leadership intends to carry out are concerned, it would always be ready to pounce. After all the structures, and most importantly the cadres of the party, have remained as they were, with that same 'fervor' of the ruling and leading force.

"You do not have to go far to find examples. Look at what the 'revived' communist parties in the Republics of the Ukraine and Belarus [Belorussia] are doing. This is what, I think, prompted Boris Nikolayevich to sign the decree. Since, as far as I know, he hesitated a long time over how to act.

"I do not rule out the revival of a Marxist-Leninist-type party, but this will be a movement from below. It will be different people. It will be a healthy party which will think about the whole of society rather than the well-being of a wretched handful of leaders."

Local Affairs

Adyge Secedes From Kray, Becomes Sovereign

PM1311161391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent S. Shipunova report: "Political Passions in Adyge. Split by Oblast Soviet"]

[Text] Political passions are running high in what, until recently, has been one of the most tranquil national okrugs in our country—Adyge. The former autonomous oblast has seceded from Krasnodar Kray and become a sovereign soviet socialist republic within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The further state building of sovereign Adyge has run up against objective contradictions, chief of which is that the indigenous population constitutes a minority in the republic, and in addition to Russians, there are representatives of many nationalities living there, including Ukrainians, Armenians, Greeks, and Tatars. The constituent congress of the Union of Adyge Slavs was held here recently and declared its desire to champion the interests of these peoples on this territory. On the other hand, in addition to the already functioning public organization "Adyge Khase," the "Committee of 40," which also speaks in the name of the Adyge people, has come into being.

It has to be pointed out that hitherto all the peoples of Adyge have lived in friendship and concord, and no grounds for any confrontation have emerged here.

There was a clash of interests following the rather risky decision of an extraordinary session of the oblast soviet (which still retains its former status) to hold elections to the Adyge Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. The point is that the session voted for parity—50-50—representation of Adygei and Russians in the future parliament and, accordingly, for the redistribution of voters among new districts.

This elicited a negative response from a considerable section of the population. Questions are being asked: Why 50-50, if the proportions are quite different in the republic's population? Why only Adygei and Russians, and what about representation for all the other nationalities living on this territory? In general, why is nationality made the basis, and not the free expression, of people's will?

A movement to boycott elections on such terms has arisen in the Adyge rayons primarily populated by Russians, and a session of Maykop City (the republic's capital) Soviet recently deemed the oblast soviet decision unconstitutional and demanded its abrogation and the holding of elections in strict accordance with Russian laws.

Chelyabinsk Oblast To Open Moscow Mission

LD1311165491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] While the Russian president is sending his representatives to localities, Chelyabinsk Oblast authorities have decided to take an opposite step. They have decided to form a permanent representation of Chelyabinsk Oblast in Moscow to ensure the effective protection of their interests at Russian bodies of administration. It appears that Chelyabinskites believe that the Russian Government should be closely monitored.

Karelia Changes Name, Stresses Independence

LD1411034591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpts] A decision of truly historic significance for the people of Karelia was adopted in a low-key and inconspicuous manner yesterday by the Supreme Soviet of this northern region. The republic has changed its name, becoming the last of the former autonomous republics in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to do so. Henceforth, it will be called the Republic of Karelia. [passage omitted]

By making this name change, the northerners wish to stress that their republic is now completely self-sufficient and independent as far as all domestic and external questions are concerned, apart from those which have been voluntarily ceded by them to federal bodies.

Further on 'Karelian Movement'

PM1511095391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent A. Minayev report: "Karelian Movement"]

[Text] Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]—A few days ago the "Karelian Movement" sociopolitical association was, at last, registered at the Karelian ASSR Ministry of Justice. It has a clearly expressed national character, as it mainly gathers Karelians, Finns, and Veps beneath its "flags," although its doors are not closed to Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and representatives of other peoples if they support the association's program, which rejects in principle any manifestations of nationalism and great power chauvinism. Why has the "movement" been set up?

It will champion the political and constitutional rights of the indigenous population of Karelia, determine the main areas of national policy, and finally seek to create a sovereign republic in which the aboriginal peoples will find their lawful place in all spheres of public life.

Incidentally, when the parade of sovereignties began in the country, Karelia was one of the first to announce its sovereignty, but even after this the Karelians, Finns, and Veps play by no means the first roles in the institutions of power. Maybe this is because the indigenous population amounts to 18-20 percent of the entire population in the republic. Will the new "movement" nonetheless have many supporters? This is the chief question, although the "Karelian Movement" is undoubtedly in need of support.

Moscow Prepares for Privatization, Rationing

OW1411014991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] By the new year all Moscow's shops—up to 500 square metres of premises—are to be privatized, the larger ones to be turned into joint-stock companies. This has been announced today, Wednesday, at a press-conference held by Moscow's government. Priority in purchasing stores will be given to their staffs. Where the staffs are unwilling to buy, the shops will be sold at auctions open to Soviet and foreign citizens and organisations. Since it is hard to assess the exact value of land and buildings, the shops will be acquired on long-term lease conditions, the equipment thrown in free.

Also announced at the press-conference were the approximate norms of food rationing: 1.5 kg of meat per head a month, 0.5 kg of sausage, 0.4 kg of butter. Apart from that more goods can be bought at commercial prices. No rationing is planned for bread and sugar. The population will be issued with special coupons which will entitle to compensation in cash (200 gram of bread per head a day will yield 28 rubles of monthly comnpensation). The new bread price is likely to be of the 3 or 5 rubles order, as already current for the best brands in Moscow. The sugar price is still in doubt—may be between 12 and 24 rubles per kg. It was specified at the press-conference that the norms and the order are in force for a month to start with. The Moscow Government has refused to name the date on their introduction.

Further on Rationing

LD1411012291 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Sugar]

[Text] Moscow November 13 TASS—A news conference of the Moscow government and the mayor's office today focused on food supplies and the general situation in the Soviet capital.

Speakers at the news conference made it clear the introduction of rationing cards on meat, milk, butter, eggs and sausage is inevitable. In addition, the price on sugar will be raised from November 25, and on alcoholic beverages a din [as received] a month. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1755 GMT on 13 November transmits a similar item which translates this

sentence as follows: From 25 November, sugar prices will go up and a month later prices for wine and spirits will go up.]

In order to somehow smooth the consequences of the price rise, another 60-ruble subsidy will be given to city residents, said minister of the Moscow government Vladimir Karnukhov.

The "long-awaited" liberalization of prices will begin after January 1, when all the shops are turned private.

Speakers at the news conference also noted increasing fuel difficulties in the city. Agreements on coal, oil and gas have not been concluded, they said.

Popov Comments on Housing Privatization Plan

PM1411102991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Stanislav Gvozdev "commentary": "Is the Mayor Trying to Score Points?"]

[Text] Virtually all media organs are carrying the joyous news of the free transfer of apartments to Muscovites and the subsequent introduction of a real estate tax. This is what Moscow's Mayor Gavriil Popov has announced. Probably many citizens heaved a sigh of relief when they thought: What a mayor we have—considerate and magnanimous.

Here is some less good news: It turns out that two to three days before citizens were thus blessed, Gavriil Popov sent the Russian president a letter which listed completely different criteria and approaches to the "effective implementation" of the privatization of Moscow's housing stock. Two to three days before this good news was circulated, the mayor convinced the president that the accommodation occupied by citizens should be transferred to their ownership free of charge at the rate of 18 square meters per person and an additional 12 square meters per family. As for the surplus, it was proposed that this be paid for at the same time in worthless rubles, and a complex method of payments was attached to the letter.

What happened during those two or three days? Why did the mayor change his mind, which, judging from that same letter, had been made up after such long and agonizing thought?

The fact is that in parallel with research at City Hall, work was also being conducted at the Moscow City Soviet. First the Presidium (4 November) and then the Moscow City Soviet (5 November) proposed a different approach to privatization, the essence of which was explained at the beginning of this article. That is, the Moscow City Soviet proposed distributing all housing free of charge and then levying differentiated rates of tax, changing the amount each year, which would make it possible to adapt to inflation and, to put it crudely, "extract money" from those owning a large area. It is precisely by means of taxes that housing construction could continue and housing allocated to those in the waiting line.

It is laudable, of course, that the mayor has been snapping up good ideas "since the summer," but in this context Moscow City Soviet deputies have a question: Is it proper to appropriate them? Indeed,, one should not try to trip up the Russian president once more with drafts of ill-considered decisions.

Moscow CPSU Committees 'Hiding' Party Money

PM0711111391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 91 p 1

[S. Sokolov report: "There's Still Some Money Out There Somewhere!"—first six paragraphs cite CPSU Secretariat resolution]

[Text] "Serial No. 37/12g, 9 August 1991. Top Secret."

CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Resolution

"On the Memorandum from Comrades Yu.A. Prokofyev and V.I. Balashov

"1. The suggestions made by Comrades Yu.A. Prokofyev and B.I. Balashov, first secretaries of Moscow city and oblast party committees [gorkom and obkom] respectively, for the city and oblast party organizations' fixed capital to be transferred to a joint-stock company set up with the involvement of these party committees are agreed.

"2. It is noted that 65 percent of the shares in the aforementioned joint-stock company will belong to the CPSU in the person of the Moscow party gorkom and obkom.

"3. Comrades Yu.A. Prokofyev and V.I. Balashov are made responsible for safeguarding the CPSU's property interests and rights in relation to the establishment and operation of the joint-stock company."

The background to this top secret resolution is quite ordinary. At the beginning of July the two far-sighted first secretaries of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and Obkom quite rightly sounded the alarm, saying that all party property, whether rightly or wrongly acquired, would shortly be nationalized. In that connection they suggested a logical way to hide everything they could as fast as possible. The hierarchy reacted understandingly to the initiative submitted by Comrades Prokofyev and Balashov. In an equally top secret memorandum dated 5 August, N.Ye. Kruchina, Central Committee administrator of affairs, approved the idea of setting up a "joint-stock company and transferring to it party organs' fixed capital to the value of 116.6 million rubles." Four days later the Central Committee Secretariat adopted an appropriate resolution. Despite the fact that the law "On Ownership in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated

Socialist Republic]" effectively banned public organizations from engaging in industrial and commercial activity.

Thus Moscow CPSU Gorkom saved its capital by hiding it not in a moneybox but in a quite proper joint-stock company that is probably flourishing and prospering today. It is only the name of this company that is still unknown. Perhaps this article will help expose the incognito, at least by the time of the next RSFSR Supreme Soviet parliamentary hearings.

Interrepublic Affairs

Yeltsin, Kyrgyzstan's Akayev Meet in Moscow

PM1111142591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Text] A meeting of the presidents of Russia and Kyrgyzstan took place in Moscow yesterday. As the Russian president's press secretary reported, Boris Yeltsin and Askar Akayev examined progress in implementing agreements between the two republics and concluded that they are being successfully implemented. An accord has been reached to sign an economic agreement for 1992 in the first 10 days of November. The Kyrgyzstan president entirely supported the program of economic reforms which Boris Yeltsin set forth at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Congress of People's Deputies.

Interparliamentary Meeting Held With Ukraine

LD1411045791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent Valeriy Yurchenko on first sitting of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic-Ukraine interparliamentary commission in Moscow on 12 November]

[Text] How fruitfully did the first working day go and what was the cause for its creation in general? I asked Anatoliy Serhiyovych Matviyenko, head of the commission on the Ukrainian side, and Bohdan Horyn, people's deputy of Ukraine who is also well known by listeners, to share their conclusions regarding this.

[Begin recording] [Matviyenko] The fact that we have already started work in the interparliamentary commission on cooperation between Ukraine and Russia is fruitful at present. Its basis was laid down in the treaty which was signed almost a year ago between the Ukraine and Russia. It has taken us a long time, but I think such cooperation will finally bring in corresponding results and will somehow smooth away the tension which exists both in the Ukraine and in Russia. We gathered today at the commission's sitting with exactly this task. We discussed a series of issues and adopted important documents which clearly determine our aims and efficiently regulate the order of our work. We formulated the priority tasks and planned the agenda on three issues. These, in particular, are issues concerning national security, issues concerning introduction of the national currency, financial, and credit system, and issues of human rights, citizenship, and social policy of one side and the other. These issues will be examined at the next sitting to be held in Kiev at the end of December through early January next year.

[Horyn] I think the fact that we came to a mutual agreement to proceed from work of our commission and be guided by international legal acts is very important. In point of fact, two documents will be laid down as the basis for our activity. These are the treaty between Ukraine and Russia and international legal acts. Therefore such a broad approach for our mutual relations will form a basis for interstate relations which will entail establishment of direct diplomatic relations in the future and together, with them, the agreements on a series of issues envisaged by documents which we have agreed on and adopted today. I think that the three documents which we were discussing today have made a good start for our further work. [end recording]

Economic Agreements Signed

LD1311100991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] The disintegration of economic and trade links between regions has led the soviets of people's deputies of five neighboring oblasts in Russia and the Ukraine to pool their efforts during the transition to a market economy. An agreement on strengthening economic and trade links has been signed in Kharkov by the leaders of Belgorod, Zaporozhye, Poltava, Sumy, and Kharkov Oblasts. The document envisages drafting a coordinated economic and social policy, the development and implementation of local interoblast programs, and coordinating the development of joint foreign trade plans. It is stressed that the parties to the agreement will, as far as they are able, repeal restrictive measures on their territories affecting each other's people.

International Affairs

Afghan Mujahidin Delegation Member Interviewed

TA1411201991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Interview with Hojjat ol-Eslam Mortazawi, member of Afghan mujahidin delegation currently in Moscow, by Petr Konsharov; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Konsharov] Mr. Mortazawi, as you know, two delegations have arrived in our country. You are a member of the delegation that came from Iran. Can you tell us whether these two delegations have the same plan or different plans?

[Mortazawi] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Technically, two delegations have come here: one delegation on behalf of the mojahedin in

Iran—that is, the Vahdat Esalmi Party—and another delegation on behalf of the mujahidin in Peshawar. The two delegations, however, have a single goal; there is no disagreement between them. The views of both delegations on the Afghan problem are identical. We came here with a single goal and are pursuing one aim: solving the Afghan problem and ending the war in Afghanistan. There are some other issues that also must be solved.

We came here at the invitation of the authorities of the Russian Federation. We—the mojahedin in Iran and the mujahidin in Pakistan—coordinated our positions in advance.

[Konsharov] Mr. Mortazawi, you came here on the invitation of the Russian Federation [words indistinct]. Did you hold talks with both Soviet and Russian officials?

[Mortazawi] On the day of our arrival we conferred with Mr. Rutskoy, since he is Yeltsin's and the Russian vice president. We acquainted him with our views. Our meetings yesterday were with Soviet officials, such as Mr. Pankin, whom we also informed of our views.

Our problem is the Soviet Union. When its army invaded Afghanistan, it created a problem for us and for them. Their problem is that the fate of some Soviet teenagers in Afghanistan is still unknown. The problem they created for us is that they installed an unpopular regime in Afghanistan, which has brought devastation and destruction. Our people's war against this illegal regime is still going on.

[Konsharov] Did you reach any agreement in your talks with officials of the Russian Federation?

[Mortazawi] Not in the real sense of the word, but the Russian Federation's stance on the Afghan problem is somewhat similar to ours. I believe that it is seeking a solution to the Afghan problem. Both the Russian Federation and its parliament had previously condemned the entry of the Soviet Army into Afghanistan, as did Mr. Yeltsin himself. Mr. Yeltsin's views on the Afghan problem are positive.

Foreign Minister Meets With Italian Leaders

LD1511061191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1555 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Golyayev]

[Excerpts] Rome, 14 Nov (TASS)—Italy and Russia intend to actively develop bilateral ties, bearing in mind processes and changes both in the central leadership of the future Union of Sovereign States which is to replace the desintegrated USSR, as well as in the independent republics. This is the main outcome of meetings and talks held here by Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] foreign minister, during his working visit to Italy.

Kozyrev met today with Giulio Andreotti, Italy's chairman of the Council of Ministers, and gave him a personal message from RSFSR President Boris Yelstin.

The Russian minister was also received today by Italian President Francesco Cossiga, who confirmed his invitation for Yeltsin to pay an official visit to Italy. The two sides discussed the results of the NATO Council summit held recently in Rome. They underlined the necessity of completely giving up the policy of confrontation that has outlived itself and to help further strengthen cooperation between East and West.

Kozyrev also held talks in the Vatican, where matters connected with Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to Italy were discussed. The same topic was at the center of attention at talks in the Italian Foreign Ministry.

At a joint news conference held today in the Foreign Ministry, Kozyrev and Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis emphasized that the changes in East-West relations are leaving a favorable imprint on the prospects for developing relations between Italy and the RSFSR. [passage omitted]

The Russian minister expressed satisfaction with the meetings he had in Rome. He added that at the talks in the Foreign Ministry, particular attention was also devoted to the results of the recent Rome session of the NATO Council, which turned a new page in the history of the North Atlantic bloc and its relations with the former Warsaw Pact countries. "We do not see NATO as an enemy, but we regard that organization as one of the buttresses of stability and security in the world," the minister said. He stressed that the Russian leadership is now trying to establish a new type of relations with its East European neighbors.

"We understand that it is largely up to us," Kozyrev said, "both as separate republics, sovereign states, and as a community of these sovereign states. We favor such a community. We want to be able to play an active part in these positive changes in the international arena."

On the subject of the agreements concluded earlier by Italy with the USSR, Kozyrev indicated that it is not a matter of casting doubt on them or revising them but of analyzing them and filling them with specific contents and making them more effective vis-a-vis the RSFSR. We think we will have completed that work by Yeltsin's visit to Italy, the minister said. [passage omitted]

Kozyrev stressed that Moscow is now relying more not on credit and free aid from the West but on developing full-blooded cooperation, which is seen as one of the necessary conditions for emerging from the crisis that the country is experiencing.

Presidential Envoy Leaves for Japan, ROK

LD1411185191 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—"Our eastern neighbour is now trying to depart from the 'indivisibility of politics and economics' principle in the question of expansion of cooperation between Japan and Russia. Such a step can only be welcomed," Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian parliamentary committee for international affairs and foreign economic relations, told TASS.

As an envoy of Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, he set out today on visits to Japan and South Korea to deliver Yeltsin's personal messages to the leaders of those countries.

Lukin said his purpose is also "to acquaint the Japanese and South Korean sides with the radical economic reforms programme put forward by the Russian president recently."

Lukin did not rule it out that the territorial issue would be touched upon during his meetings in Japan. The unresolved character of the problem is the main cause why a peace treaty has not been concluded between the two countries up to now.

The stand of the Russian leadership that put forward a plan for a stage-by-stage solution of the territorial delimitation issue remains unchanged, he said.

When in Japan and South Korea, Lukin is expected to discuss trade and economic cooperation between Russia and the two countries and to hold talks in the business community, specifically, with representatives of such firms as Shumko Inc., Samson, Hyundai, etc.

Japan To Aid Maritime Territory, Sakhalin

OW1411185591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 3" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Liberal Democrats [LDP] made a mistake by adopting a hardline approach to Soviet-Japanese relations and tying their development to the resolution of the territorial dispute. A statement to that effect was made at a news conference in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk on Thursday [14 November] by Mr. Kudo, a Japanese parliamentarian and head of the committee for the promotion of international relations. He is leading a delegation of the LDP Council of the Hokkaido prefecture that arrived in the Soviet Far East yesterday to discuss ways of expanding cultural and economic links between Hokkaido and Sakhalin.

The Japanese MP [member of parliament] told journalists that his party had reviewed its position and was now ready to promote all kinds of bilateral relations. Only by coming to know each other better can we settle our main problem—that of the Northern Territories—and sign a peace treaty, Mr. Kudo said.

The guest quoted Premier Miyazava as saying that his government would give tangible economic assistance to the Far East—primarily to the Maritime Territory and Sakhalin.

Anatoliy Aksenov, Sakhalin's Governor, said the island badly needed new equipment and technology today. It had to learn to do business as efficiently as industrialized countries did. On the problem of Northern Territories he said it should be dealt with carefully and without damaging anybody's interests.

Yeltsin Letter on 'Final Relations' With Japan

LD1411203191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Today the Russian news agency has circulated a letter from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the residents of Russia in which he says that it is the absolute duty of the new Russian leadership to search for ways to solve the problems inherited from the policy of the past. One of them is to achieve final relations in the post-war period with Japan, which have been practically frozen. The main obstacle to concluding a peace treaty is the frontier demarcation between the USSR and Japan. In the end, the future of the new democratic Russia, as a member of the new world community, will depend largely on how fast we can respond to the norms of civilized international dealings and make legality, justice, and unswerving observance of international law the main criterion of our policy. We shall be guided by the principles of justice and humanitarianism and steadfastly defend the interests and dignity of the people of Russia, especially those living in the southern Kurils, the letter says.

Not a single fate will be broken. Taking fully into consideration existing historical realities, we will ensure their social and economic and property interests. The initial principle of any agreement with Japan will be concerned with our single, indivisible, great homeland.

Belorussia

Parliamentary, Presidential Rule Debated

PM1411163091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[By Colonel P. Chernenko under "Direct Line" rubric: "Will Belarus [Belorussia] Have a President?"]

[Text] After a 10-day break, the Belarus [Belorussia] Republic Supreme Soviet session has resumed work. At the first sitting, the question of the republic's draft constitution was discussed. During the discussion 18 people's deputies submitted observations and proposals. The debate would have proceeded in a calm atmosphere, had it not been for the question of power: What kind of power should it be: parliamentary or presidential? Here the deputies' opinions were divided.

For instance, opposition leader Z. Poznyak asserted that the introduction of presidential power is a step toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, as is indicated by the experience of Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Russia. He proposed that the question of whether Belarus should be a parliamentary or a presidential republic be decided by a vote. But the majority did not support him. The deputies agreed that the constitutional commission will have the deciding say on this point.

The session resolved to publish the draft constitution for nationwide discussion.

Council Agrees on Polish Trade Center

OW1511133391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0750 GMT 15 Nov 91

["Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belorussia's Council of Ministries agreed to the establishment of a Belorussian-Polish trade center with branches in Brest and Grodno (Belorussia), and Bialo-Podliask (Poland). It also set up the Brest Universal Exchange on the Polish border.

Moldova

Southern Clashes Leave 2 Dead, 3 Wounded

LD1411202191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to an INTERFAX report, major disorders and armed clashes took place in southern Moldova last night. According to information from the rayon where the Gagauz live, one policeman and one local inhabitant were killed and three others were wounded. The Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs denies the report of deaths. The disorders began during the funeral of an inhabitant of the village of Vulkenesht, who was shot by customs officers. Participants in the funeral blocked off the local police department. The police and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] according to the official version, fired into the air.

Situation Worsens

LD1511044891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1536 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 14 Nov (TASS)—The situation in southern Moldova has worsened again. According to information from the republican Internal Affairs Ministry's press bureau, on the evening of 13 November a group of inhabitants from the village of Vulkenesht threw stones and petrol bombs at the rayon police department. The police and people's court buildings completely burned down. Police officers running out of the department were shot at with firearms and had stones thrown at them. According to preliminary information, three policemen received bullet wounds and another policeman died on the way to the hospital. Four police cars were set on fire and destroyed by the attackers.

As the Moldovan Internal Affairs Ministry reported, these events are the result of a previous attack that took place last Sunday [10 November]. During the night two attackers broke into a customs post van, dragged a police sergeant onto the street, beat him up, and tried to take his weapon and push him into a car. A second policeman who ran out of the customs post was forced to use his weapon to save his colleague. One of the attackers was killed. The Moldovan Internal Affairs Ministry Inspectorate of Personnel has deemed the use of the weapon lawful.

Prime Minister Calls For Tolerance

OW1511051691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski has urged the republican population to be tolerant and respectful of each other and not to succumb to provocations by extremist forces on both sides of the Dniester River in the south of Moldova.

Mr. Muravski spoke on republican TV Thursday [14 November] evening and pointed out that "some extremists are now trying to destabilize the situation in the republic by stirring up ethnic hostility. There are forces willing to turn Moldova into another Karabakh," he noted.

The prime minister said that the republican government is against any use of force which can lead to destabilization only.

Mr. Muravski also said that a joint team of the Moldovan Procurator's Office, the National Security and Interior Ministries had been sent to Vulkanesti to investigate the incidents. The government had also formed a conciliatory commission including representatives of the republic's southern regions. The commission's goal was to localize the Vulkanesti conflict, Muravski said.

Situation Slowly Back to 'Normal'

OW1511045291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in the village of Vulkanesti in southern Moldova, where clashes occurred on Wednesday [13 November] night, has been coming back to normal.

As IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent has learnt from the Gagauz Republic's government, Thursday's [14 November] talks in the city of Kagul between Moldovan Interior Ministry officials and Gagauz leaders yielded agreement on the replacement of all Moldovan policemen in Vulkanesti by militiamen from the neighboring cities of Chadyr-Lunga and Komrat. The activity of all political parties in Vulkanesti has been suspended.

Last night saw large-scale disturbances and armed clashes in southern Moldova. They followed the funeral of a villager who had been shot and killed at the Ukrainian border during an attempt by custom officers to detain a suspicious car.

According to the Moldovan Interior Ministry, the would-be victim attacked a policeman who fired a warning shot into the air and another one at the attacker. The republic's Procurator's Office finds the policeman's actions legally correct.

The ministry qualifies the subsequent disturbances in Vulkanesti, accompanied by fire exchanges and arson, as "deliberate efforts to incite inter-ethnic hostility and destabilize the republican situation."

Fresh reports put the number of last night's casualties at 5 local civilians and 4 policemen wounded, one of them mortally. The district police department was burnt up and a court of law damaged by fire.

An emergency session of the Gagauz Supreme Soviet on Thursday condemned the use of force during the conflict both by the Moldovan police and by armed Gagauz units.

The Moldovan Procurator's Office has filed a lawsuit against those responsible for the incident. However, it found it expedient to delay investigation until the situation in southern Moldova has fully stabilized.

Economic War Rages Between Dniester, Moldova

OW1511031591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the Dniester Republic have banned all commodity and raw material supplies to Moldova. This is seen as yet another step within the framework of the "economic war" that began with Kishinev's decision last October to freeze the bank accounts of Dniester enterprises.

The Moldovan Government says it will not lift the freeze until the Dniester banks present comprehensive reports on their activity and undergo re-registration in compliance with the Moldovan law. The Dniester banks refuse to register with Moldovan agencies—obviously hoping for protection from Russia.

President Refuses To Attend State Council

OW1411141691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mircea Snegur of Moldova has confirmed his refusal to take part in the session of the USSR State Council, an agency that he believes "was set up by an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies especially for Mikhail Gorbachev."

In an interview for the newspaper MOLDOVA SUVERANE, Mr. Snegur questioned Mr. Gorbachev's statenent that "an economic community is unthinkable unless it is based on a political treaty." The Moldovan leader said his republic would not sign any such treaty either as a full-fledged or an associated member.

President Nationalizes Soviet Army Property

LD1411161691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 14 Nov (TASS)—By decree of Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, weapons, ammunition, military equipment, military bases, and other property belonging to Soviet Army units stationed in Moldova have now been declared the property of the Republic of Moldova. The decree prohibits exporting arms and military equipment from the republic. The decree says that these measures have been prompted by "the need to create the material and technical basis for the Moldovan armed forces." The government has been instructed to start talks immediately with the relevant USSR bodies in order to fulfill the decree.

Removal of Weaponry Banned

OW1511053591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's President Mircea Snegur issued a decree Thursday [14 November] transferring all arms, ammunition, military equipment, vehicles and bases on Moldovan territory to republican jurisdiction.

Starting from November 14th the removal of arms, ammunition and military equipment from Moldova will be banned.

President Signs Military Service Decree

LD1411143891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has signed the decree on staffing the military units, Interior Ministry troops, border troops units, and customs services that are part of the Moldovan Ministry of National Security. The decree states that Moldovan citizens are liable to be called up for active military service within the national armed forces upon reaching conscription age. Servicemen who have deserted the Soviet Army will also be conscripted into the national armed forces.

Privatization Chief Discusses Targets

AU1411202891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/11/1991—One of the main targets aimed by Moldova's Privatisation Department is not to let this action slip into a political campaign, said the director general of the department, Visarion Cheshuyev. As MOLDOVA-PRES informs, the director said the privatisation programme was planned to stretch over several years.

Privatisation is intended as a very serious measure meant to revive Moldova's economy and society, said Director Cheshuyev. In an address made at a national conference on privatisation methodology, recently opened in Chisinau [Kishinev], he warned that if the republic's citizens, from the modest worker to managers and ministers, failed to understand the concept, the aims, the mechanisms and the routines involved by this ample process, privatisation might encounter unsurmountable difficulties. To avoid such difficulties, the department developed a general methodology of privatisation for Moldova.

Ukraine

Kravchuk: Novo-Ogarevo Treaty 'Has No Future'

OW1411212191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

["Bulletin 4" report; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] Thursday [14 November], the Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Leonid Kravchuk said that "the Novo-Ogarevo treaty has no future." That is the reason why the Ukraine did not take part in the State Council's meeting, he stressed.

"If we are talking about the community of the republics, we should follow in Europe's steps," he said. In his opinion, the independent states capable of protecting the rights of their citizens can and must enter the Union. The Ukraine would be sure to join the process, Mr. Kravchuk said.

Kravchuk Views Future Administrative System

PM1411170591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

["Snap Interview" with Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk by Boris Sverdlov in Donetsk; date not stated: "Leonid Kravchuk: I Sympathize With Yeltsin's Program"]

[Text] "The Ukraine and Russia essentially have the same economic troubles. Indeed it could not have been otherwise, seeing as we have lived for so many years in the same Union," L. Kravchuk, the main presidential candidate in the Ukraine, said at a meeting with miners in Uglegorsk. "So I sympathize with the anticrisis program published by Yeltsin."

As for the future setup in the republic, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet sees the Ukraine as 12 self-governing economic zones, and not in the form of a federative-land system [federativno-zemelnoye ustroystvo], which is how the five other candidates for the post of president see it. Only the former kind of administrative division will help solve effectively the misfortunes that have accumulated in the economy, ecology, and culture. And it is only in one respect that Kravchuk's program is in complete accord with those of all the candidates: the categorical negation of the Union center as a superstructure over the sovereign states.

Leonid Makarovich gave the following answer to a question put to him by your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent: whether the adoption in the republic of the Ukraine as a single state language will cause an outburst of dissatisfaction among the Russian-speaking population:

"Personally I am opposed to any coercion. That is why the Supreme Soviet recently proposed that the Russian language be considered the language of interethnic contact."

Kravchuk Campaigns in Lugansk, Donetsk

PM1511104591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lisovenko report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Ties Are Indissoluble, but Money Is Separate..."]

[Text] Donetsk—Leonid Kravchuk, Ukrainian presidential candidate and current chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, spent three days in the Donbass as part of his election campaign.

In Lugansk and Donetsk Oblasts the candidate spoke about the reform program in which his principles, which are united in a five-point plan of statehood, democracy, sufficiency, spirituality, and faith, are to take shape.

This year's republic budget deficit is 50 billion rubles, food and goods are in short supply, and as a result of monetary depreciation each ruble is worth only 14 kopeks. Life is especially hard in the Donbass. At a time when former economic ties have been disrupted in many ways, the industrial complex is everywhere on the skids. The shortage of timber for pit props has almost closed the mines, which in turn has slowed the work of thermal electric power stations and coking, metallurgical, and machine-building plants. Kravchuk stressed that an agreement has been reached with Russia about pit prop deliveries for 1992, that the Ukraine's natural gas requirements will be completely satisfied, and the republic will even be provided with nearly all the oil it needs—it has been promised 50 million tonnes. These are the basic terms for getting out of the crisis.

Answering questions about mutual relations between Ukrainians and Russians, Kravchuk said that these two peoples have lived together in the Donbass from time immemorial. There has never been nor should there be ethnic hostility here. "We must strive to ensure that every Russian child becomes familiar with the work of Taras Shevchenko at school, and every Ukrainian child becomes acquainted with the poetry of Aleksandr Pushkin. Nobody will be implemcnting forced Ukrainianization..."

The candidate spoke about how he intends to extricate the republic from the crisis if he becomes Ukrainian leader, how the presidential administration will operate, and what basic decrees will be promulgated right away. Russia will assist the Ukraine with energy sources, and the Ukraine will supply Russia with sugar, meat, and other foodstuffs. These are traditional exchanges, and the fraternal republics should not open an account of hostility. Their ties are indissoluble Nevertheless Kravchuk insisted on the need to introduce a separate currency and establish an army.

Seven Candidates Seek Presidency

LD1511025891 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Litvinov and Mikhail Melnik]

[Text] Kiev November 14 TASS—A former high-ranking party functionary, two former dissidents, a minister, director of a cooperative, and two scientists contend for the office of the Ukraine's president in the forthcoming elections, due to be held in December.

The gaining of the Ukraine's independence is the major point of the election programme of each of the seven contenders despite the difference of political views.

The presidential contenders now tour the republic. Ukrainian parliament chief Leonid Kravchuk, who was previously the second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and is now ahead of other candidates in popularity rating, visited central and eastern regions of the republic and met miners of the Donets coal fields.

Academician Igor Ukhnovskiy visited the Crimea. Two former dissidents, Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the Lvov Regional Council, and Levko Lukyaninkov, chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party, visited the republic's eastern and sourthern regions where their popularity is not very high.

Leopold Taburyanskiy, chairman of the Dnepropetrovsk-based cooperative Olymp and leader of the People's Party of the Ukraine, is so far the least active in his meetings with the electorate.

The only candidate who publicly declares confidence that he will win is Ukraine Agriculture Minister Aleksandr Tkachenko. At meetings with constituents he states that he is sure to win because he is the only real professional among the seven. Hovewer, judging by public opinion polls, he lags behind even Chornovil who ranks second in popularity rating.

Two weeks remain before the election date.

Daily Interviews President Kravchuk

PY1411164291 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 11 Nov 91 Section 2 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by reporter Jaime Spitzcovsky at presidential office in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] [Spitzcovsky] Will the Ukraine become a member of the Union of Sovereign States that Mikhail Gorbachev is planning to assemble?

[Kravchuk] The Ukraine will be an ordinary sovereign state, with all the features and characteristics of independent states—that is essential.

[Spitzkovsky] Does that mean that you will not join the treaty that is being promoted by Gorbachev?

[Kravchuk] In principle, the treaty is feasible. It will be a union like a community, like the EEC, in which, while each member remains independent, all sates will unite to solve some general issues.

That union, however, will not prevent individual states from exercising their independence. The sooner Mikhail Gorbachev and other people understand that, the

stronger will be the chances for peace, tranquillity, and the settlement of conflicts. This will help us to peacefully resolve problems.

[Spitzkovsky] Is the Ukraine organizing its armed forces out of fear of "Russian expansionism."

[Kravchuk] No. We are organizing our armed forces because all independent states should have forces to defend them. Relations with Russia are based on goodwill and friendship. Relations involve historic, cultural, and family ties. Some 12 million Russians live in the Ukraine, and some 4.5 million Ukrainians live in Russia.

[Spitzkovsky] What is your opinion of the idea that now that the political game has undermined communism, a failure of the economic reforms sponsored by the so-called democratic forces would inevitably lead to a fascist dictatorship?

[Kravchuk] There could be a repressive dictatorship, a strong regime to put everyone to work and to maintain order, but it will not be a fascist dictatorship. Yet I am against it. I am for democracy. I want to give freedom to producers, businessmen, and the people. A dictatorship could only be temporary. Dictatorships are bound to disappear. Democracy and freedom are everlasting.

[Spitzkovsky] Is the Ukraine planning to join the EEC?

[Kravchuk] Our long-term objective is to join European organizations, yet we know we have to solve many internal economic, financial, banking, and credit problems before joining them. We are not yet ready, it is only a wish.

[Spitzkovsky] How will the West participate in economic reforms in the Ukraine?

[Kravchuk] I foresee the participation of Western capital in the Ukrainian economy on the basis of laws that promote private initiative and create proper conditions for business.

I know that a considerable number of Ukrainian descendants live in Brazil. According to my information, there are approximately 400,000 of them. We will welcome them here in the Ukraine, either as people visiting their homeland or as businessmen who will promote undertakings that are good for them and for the Ukraine.

[Spitzkovsky] Who are the international leaders that you consider as your main allies? Who are your, let us say, "examples for inspiration"?

[Kravchuk] I maintain good relations with (Brian) Mulroney (Canadian prime minister) and personal relations with George Bush and Helmut Kohl. I recently held a very interesting meeting with (Francois) Mitterrand and with (Turgut) Ozal (Turkish president). It was a warm, frank meeting.

As for historical leaders, Hruchevski is an important figure. I feel deep respect for Washington, many of whose writings I have read. Of a more recent period, I should mention the talent and intelligence of Roosevelt, a learned man with a political vision.

Foreign Minister on Nuclear Arms, Relations

PY1411171091 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 11 Nov 91 Section 2 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko by unidentified reporter at ministerial office in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] [FOLHA DE SAO PAULO] The appearance of a new nuclear power is awakening fear in the West. Is it justified?

[Zlenko] The world is afraid, but I believe it is unjustified. We do not want to be a new nuclear country. We want to eliminate all nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory.

The declaration of sovereignty, which was signed on 16 July 1990, clearly established that the Ukraine will be a neutral republic without nuclear weapons. Congress has confirmed that nuclear weapons will temporarily remain in Ukrainian territory. Those weapons belong to the USSR.

We want to eliminate all nuclear weapons, we want to avoid the use of nuclear weapons, and we want to negotiate with the Soviet republics that have nuclear weapons in order to reach a consensus for eliminating that arsenal.

[FOLHA DE SAO PAULO] Even if your Russian neighbor has nuclear weapons?

[Zlenko] In spite of everything. We want to become a neutral, denuclearized republic. The Chernobyl accident compels us to eliminate all nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory. We are also seriously considering the elimination of our conventional arsenal.

[FOLHA DE SAO PAULO] Will the Ukraine agree to the idea of a "common strategic area," as was proposed by Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov?

[Zlenko] We are not currently thinking about that "common strategic area." We expect to reach a new status through the creation of an army to defend our people and our borders.

[FOLHA DE SAO PAULO] How is the process of establishing direct diplomatic relations with other countries?

[Zlenko] Our new foreign policy seeks to promote ties with several nations, including the former Soviet republics, our neighbors Poland, the CSSR, Hungary,

Romania, countries with local Ukrainian communities, European countries, and the countries in which we have a specific interest.

[FOLHA DE SAO PAULO] Is the pressure that Gorbachev is exercising in favor of a Union headquartered in Moscow preventing the recognition of your republic's independence?

[Zlenko] We are thankful for all that Mikhail Gorbachev has achieved in terms of democracy and the opening process.

Defense Minister Remarks on National Army

PM1511120091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, REUTERS, INTERFAX roundup]

[Text] Ukrainian Defense Minister K. Morozov has told the Ukrainian newspaper NARODNAYA ARMIYA that the USSR State Council's desire to preserve unified Armed Forces indicates a "reluctance on the part of the center to take account of the political realities."

He said that the communique signed in Moscow 6 November on the results of the talks between the Ukrainian and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] delegations reaffirms the sovereign republics' right to their own national armies and national guards.

Delegation Holds Talks in Washington

LD1511113991 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Volodymyr Lanovyy, the Ukrainian state minister for issues of property and enterprise, began negotiations in Washington today with representatives of the U.S. Administration. He arrived in the United States at the head of our republic's government delegation. The main goal of its working visit is to establish prospects for multifaceted cooperation between Ukraine and the United States.

Oblasts Put Curbs on Cross-Border Traffic

PM1411170191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Stepan Troyan: "Local Authorities Lower the Curtain"]

[Text] Lvov—Soviets in four border oblasts—Lvov, Volyn, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Chernovtsy—have prohibited motor vehicles from passing through customs points on their territory with tourist passes or private invitations.

The only people who can now enter adjacent countries—Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia—and more remote countries are those who are traveling on official business, going for treatment or for funerals, or traveling to visit the graves of their nearest and dearest. You can cross the state border by train, but only if you can get a ticket, of course.

This decision was due to the deterioration of the health and hygiene situation at international crossing points and the incredible buildup of garbage there. Inhabitants of border population centers and the travelers themselves are suffering as a result of the massive traffic jams—lines stretch for 15-20 kilometers. The authorities intend to use the unpopular bans to create an orderly situation at checkpoints and material-technical and financial conditions for their normal activities and prevent outbreaks of infectious diseases.

The paper GALICHINA writes that the closure of the "Shegini" traffic crossing is largely due to the fact that the Ukrainian Government, according to the Lvov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, is not paying sufficient attention to customs problems. Because the Cabinet of Ministers is dragging its feet, decisions affecting the inhabitants of the entire republic and the republics of the former Union are being made locally. Be that as it may, the "iron curtain" is coming down again....

Interrepublic Affairs

Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Meeting 'Fruitless'

OW1411184591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 3," transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Wednesday's [13 November] working meeting of Armenian and Azerbaijani negotiators at the border between the Armenian district of Idjevan and the Kazakh district in Azerbaijan is reported to have been fruitless. It failed to yield any agreements on the exchange of hostages or the restoration of gas supplies to Armenia.

Vardan Pashikyan, head of the Noemberyan District Soviet, observed that the problem went beyond the readiness or unwillingness of Kazakh district authorities to release the Armenian detainees. He said that the main stumbling block was the presence of armed men from the Azerbaijani Popular Front and an organization calling itself "The Grey Wolves" on the district's territory, and that neither of the two organizations seemed to be interested in talks with Armenia.

MD Chief Views Georgian, Azerbaijan Moves

PM1411161491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[By KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, plus commentary by Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District (MD): "There Is an Army. But Whose Is It?"]

[Text] The president of Georgia, in his 11 November decree, declared weapons, ammunition, means of transport, military equipment, military bases, and other military property belonging to Soviet Army units stationed on Georgian territory to be the property of the republic.

The processes of "privatization" of Army property are also getting under way in neighboring Azerbaijan. A republic parliament session heard a briefing on a meeting between Prime Minister G. Gasanov and representatives of the command of military units stationed on Azerbaijan's territory. Servicemen were informed of the decision of the republic's cabinet of ministers to begin drawing up an inventory of equipment, arms, ammunition, and other property held in Soviet Army units and subunits. In the event of failure to comply with these measures, the prime minister noted, sanctions may be applied against servicemen. It has become known that this means disconnecting gas, water, and electricity and blocking military transport movements.

Commentary by Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, Commander of the Transcaucasus Military District

"I cannot say that these steps came as a complete surprise to us. After the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decision on transferring the USSR Armed Forces stationed on Ukrainian territory to the republic's jurisdiction, it was to be expected that others would take similar steps. We believe that this act is more political than practical. After all, at the 4 November USSR State Council session representatives of all the republics agreed that the Army should remain unified. Consequently any decision to transfer the equipment and arms of the Transcaucasus Military District to someone else must come from the leadership of the USSR and the Defense Ministry. Furthermore the steps being taken by the republics could to some extent destabilize the situation in the region."

Azerbaijan

Continuing Incidents Reported in NKAO

Baku Reports Tension

NC1411123991 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] The situation remains tense in Azerbaijani-inhabited towns close to Armenian towns in Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO]. [passage indistinct]

Daily Armenian attacks continue on the towns of Dzhebrayilskiy Rayon. [Name indistinct], deputy head of the rayon's Internal Affairs Department, said that the militia posts at (?Shayet) town and Kushluk in Gadrutskiy Rayon are coming under Armenian fire. Cannons and military hardware are being deployed on top of the mountain near (?Sumyen) in Gadrutskiy. The mountain (?overlooks) Dzhebrayilskiy Rayon. The Armenians have [words indistinct] from Azerbaijani-inhabited Khushchular in Gadrutskiy.

Armenian attacks continue on towns [words indistinct]. The situation has worsened in Khodzhavend, which has been besieged for the past two days. The gas supply to the area has been cut off. According to reports, further attacks by Armenians are expected.

In Geranboyskiy Rayon the situation is extremely tense. The savage Armenian [word indistinct] are firing on [name indistinct] towns day and night. Duty officer Kurban Kerimov of the rayon militia department said that [name indistinct] town came under fire at 1900 local time yesterday. Some '3 [words indistinct] were injured and taken to hospitals in Geranboy and Gendzhe. Nogruzov-Nogruz Beshiroglu, 31, from the Internal Affairs Department in Sumgait, [words indistinct] was killed. The Armenian attacks on [name indistinct] towns continue relentlessly.

A passenger (?vehicle) travelling from Shusha to Agdam on (?12) November came under fire in Askeranskiy Rayon, Nagorno-Karabakh. Shushinskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department reports that [words indistinct] was injured and taken to Khodzhaly. On the same day a VAZ car travelling from Khodzhaly to Agdam was fired on

near [name indistinct] town in Askeranskiy Rayon. Two passengers were gravely injured and one of them, Tahit Mehrem, died later in Agdam Hospital.

Deputy Prosecutor Abducted

LD1411154791 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Vadim Byrkin and Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Stepanakert November 14 TASS—A senior law enforcement officer was abducted in Nagorno-Karabakh by a group of gunmen who broke into his office in the region's capital Stepanakert at noon today.

Shukyur Rzayev, deputy general prosecutor of Azerbaijan, was taken by unidentified kidnappers to an unknown destination. Law enforcement bodies and the commandant's office are searching for clues to his whereabouts.

According to the commandant's office, supervising state of emergency regulations in the region, a shoot-out between the Azerbaijani village of Khodzhavend and the district centre of Martuni began at 3 PM. Casualties were reported.

At the time the TASS correspondents were reporting this story (about 5 PM local time), the shooting continued.

A serviceman was lightly wounded in Mardakert district. Circumstances of the incident are being investigated.

Parliament Criticizes Center in Armenian Quarrel

OW1411143491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azerbaijani parliament continued Wednesday [13 November] to discuss the republic's conflict with Armenia. Interior Minister Magomed Asadov censured the Soviet Army and interior troops in the conflict zone for "inaction." He said the problem would be discussed on Thursday [14 November] during President Ayaz Mutalibov's meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Most of the speakers in parliament supported the interior minister and noted that although the center was comprehensively informed of the latest developments, it would be unlikely to make any constructive steps to settle the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. Many argued that the only source of hope was the republic's Defense Council, and that it was time to form Azerbaijan's own armed forces. Soviet army units stationed in Azerbaijan were named as a possible source of weapons and ammunition for the Azerbaijani soldiers.

There were also suggestions that the border with Armenia be declared a state border that should be properly protected.

The parliamentary session will continue on Thursday.

Nakhichevan Thanks Turkey for Humanitarian Aid

OW1511044191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, head of the Supreme Majlis (parliament) of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, has expressed "on behalf of all the Nakhichevanis" profound gratitude to Turkey for the humanitarian aid it offered his republic. A few days ago a convoy of trucks from the city of Konja crossed into Nakhichevan's district of Sarak via a temporary bridge built over the Aras River. The Turkish citizens accompanying the cargo were received by Geydar Aliyev who told them that in the present situation the Azerbaijani people, including those in Nakhichevan, "need moral support from their Turkish brothers more than ever before."

Mr. Aliyev welcomed the fact that Turkey had been the first foreign country to recognize Azerbaijan's independence. This, he said, would be sure to "rally all the Turks together."

The Turkish representative promised to continue assisting their brothers in Azerbaijan, and said that yet another consignment of humanitarian assistance had been sent to Nakhichevan—this time by people in Erzrum.

Turkish Envoy on Recognition of Independence

PM1511103591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

[Interview with Turkish Ambassador Volkan Vural by correspondent V. Khovratovich; place and date not given: "Turkey Recognizes Azerbaijan's Independence. What Brought About This Decision?"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA's correspondent sought an explanation from Mr. Volkan Vural, Turkish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR.

[Vural] In making this decision my country's government proceeded primarily on the basis of the document adopted at the recent Congress of Soviet People's Deputies. It is known that it says that all the republics that have declared their independence will continue to abide by international law and their sovereignty can be recognized by any foreign state. So Turkey has done nothing unlawful.

Recognition of Azerbaijan's independence took place as follows. On 29 October the republic's parliament announced its decision to join the world community and

asked the states of the world to recognize its independence. On 3 November a note from the Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry arrived at our consulate in Baku. It was a request for recognition of the republic's independence. Finally, during his recent visit to Ankara, Prime Minister Gasanov repeated this request.

Our government, on the basis of long-standing cultural and linguistic links with what Turkey considers a fraternal republic and in view of the decision by the recent Congress of USSR People's Deputies, declared its recognition of Azerbaijan's independence.

[Khovratovich] But does this statement not add fuel to the fire of the endless war in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Vural] No, I say. While recognizing the sovereignty of a neighboring republic we are at the same time confirming our noninterference in the internal and external affairs of any state. Moreover, we intend to continue to cooperate with the Ukraine, with Armenia, with Moldova, and with Georgia.

[Khovratovich] So if, for example, Armenia were to make a similar request to Turkey tomorrow, your government would meet that request?

[Vural] Absolutely. Although no one, aside from Azerbaijan, has asked us so far. Since we are talking about Armenia, IZVESTIYA's readers will be interested to learn that Turkey intends to open a consulate in Yerevan. This is further confirmation of our sincerity and impartiality in relations with any republic.

[Khovratovich] So you mean that Turkey is prepared to recognize the independence not only of a Muslim republic?

[Vural] My country does not distinguish between Muslim, Christian, or, for example, Jewish countries. And not only because the Turkish Republic is a secular state. We act primarily from civilized, common human positions.

[Khovratovich] Fine, Turkey regards Azerbaijan as an independent state. But what if at some stage Baku asks you to sell it weapons?

[Vural] Naturally, we would be unable to meet such a request. For the simple reason that Ankara is very well aware where these weapons would go. And anyway, my country wants all conflicts to be resolved by peaceful means. That is our firm position. Moreover, it was recently decided to halve the numerical strength of the Turkish Armed Forces.

[Khovratovich] My final question, Mr. Ambassador. What about the several thousand refugees from the Nakhichevan Republic?

[Vural] They have been returned home.

PLO Welcomes Independence Proclamation

OW1411215391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From "Bulletin 4;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Palestine Liberation Organization and its leaders welcome the proclamation of Azerbaijani independence and are ready to promote comprehensive cooperation with the republic. This was announced in Baku Wednesday [13 November] by the Yasir 'Arafat's personal envoy Omar Yusif who met with the Azerbaijani State Secretary Tofik Ismailov. Mr. Yusif described the Palestinian people's stand on the Middle East conflict.

Mr. Ismailov expressed Azerbaijan's readiness to expand and promote contacts with all nations worldwide, including the Palestinians.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Support for Chechen Leader Assailed

PM1411132791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Cable" report from TASS, Russian Information Agency, RIA, and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents': "Gamsakhurdia Mistaken"]

[Text] Tengiz Kitovani, commander of opposition units of Georgia's national guard, told RIA's correspondent that Georgian President Gamsakhurdia's support for [Chechen leader] General Dudayev is a big mistake. In Kitovani's opinion, this may, on the one hand, help worsen relations with Russia and, on the other, revive Islamic fundamentalism in the region.

Foreign Minister Urges Independence Recognition

OW1411135891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Murman Omanidze, the foreign minister of Georgia, who is staying in Moscow to take part in the presentation of the newspaper SVOBODNAYA GRUZIA (FREE GEORGIA), told IF [INTERFAX] on Tuesday [12 November] that "it is internal political instability that prevents Georgia from being recognized as an independent country by the international community."

Mr. Omanidze said that following preliminary talks on the matter with nearly 20 countries, including Turkey, Iran, and Jordan, only Romania had recognized Georgia's independence. He said the two countries would maintain relations at a level of missions and consular departments at the initial stage.

The Georgian Foreign Ministry, according to its head, is opposed to the plan of sending representatives of ex-Soviet republics to Soviet Embassies in foreign countries. Mr Omanidze indicated that cooperation would only be possible if the center officially recognized Georgian independence. He described it as a key prerequisite also for Georgia's signing of the interrepublican economic agreement.

Commenting on the continued presence of Soviet troops on his republic's territory, Mr. Omanidze said the Georgian Government regarded these troops as "an occupation force that will have to leave my sovereign country within time limits to be established through talks with the Center." He said Georgia would then proceed to form an army and a national guard of its own.

Prime Minister on MVD Troops 'Privatization'

PM1511102091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by Colonel V. Kaushanskiy from Tbilisi: "Only Internal Troops 'Privatized' Thus Far"]

[Text] Something like 30 percent of Georgia's industrial enterprises will be privatized in the course of the switch to a market economic footing, the republic's Prime Minister Vazgen Gugushvili stated at a news conference. He noted that the government is currently carefully studying the economic treaty signed by the majority of the former Union republics. It is not ruled out that Georgia will join it as an associate member or in some other form.

And how is the situation developing in connection with Georgia's "privatization" of USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] units stationed on its territory? From what sources does the government intend to form the military budget? Answering these questions from your correspondent, the prime minister did not go into detail about the mechanisms for the planned innovations, but he noted:

"From the economic viewpoint the Union no longer exists, and so there is no possibility of financing anything out of the Union budget. The burden of expenditure on maintaining the militia will have to be borne by us. We have set up a defense ministry on a small scale. Next year the budget makes provision for the relevant items of expenditure for the various departments. We will find the resources out of the contributions which we formerly used to pay toward the Union budget. Of course, considerable difficulties lie in store for us here, because we must also take into account the burden of maintaining in Georgia the Union institutions, plants, factories, and other entities that also used to be financed from the common purse. But there is no other way to true independence."

Opposition Leader To Stand Trial 20 Nov

LD1411184291 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Voronyuk]

[Text] Tbilisi November 14 TASS—Legal proceedings against Georgiy Chanturia, chairman of the National-Democratic Party of Georgia and a chief political opponent of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, will be initiated on November 20 this year, a Mtatsmind District Court representative told TASS today in Tbilisi.

Members of the National Democratic Party of Georgia who are on a hunger strike demanding legal protection for their leader, intend to continue a hunger action during the forthcoming trial as they are not sure the trial will be impartial.

Georgiy Chanturia was arrested on the way from Tbilisi to Moscow where he planned to arrange a news conference devoted to the fact of confrontation between the opposition and supporters of President Gamsakhurdia during September-November this year.

Threats to Media Freedom Cause Fear

LD1511045491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Telephone report from Tbilisi by correspondent Zorab Dvali from the independent agency (INPRINDA)]

[Text] Today has shown clearly that the opposition's joy over the weakening of diktat in the press was premature. I remind you that after the well-known tragic events of September and October this year, on the pages of the central press, and especially in the official paper SAKATOT [republic], articles, statements, appeals, and other opposition materials were systematically published. Not so long ago this was simply unreal. Today it is clear that it will be unreal in the near future, since, judging from a published statement by the newspaper's staff, there is no question of there being any items that are unfavorable to the government. The statement says that the editorial office is receiving many letters and appeals signed by representatives of the opposition and by supporters. Bearing in mind the fact that the Georgian Supreme Soviet assessed the events that occurred in Tbilisi in the autumn as an antigovernment putsch and an attempted coup d'etat, the newspaper's editorial office will not publish letters and statements unless their authors repudiate connections with the putschists. The removal of legal liability does not mean total irresponsibility, the statement says.

That might have been the end of the matter, had it not been for one other alarming report. A correspondent from the (INPRINDA) agency was told by workers at the television center and by opposition guards that soon it is planned to dismiss staff at the Georgian television and

radio department who supported the opposition. Some 800 people have been blacklisted. Of these, about 500 will be dismissed.

It is not yet possible to confirm this information, although many of the opposition predictions that seemed improbable at first glance have already come true. It is curious that a week before the live appearance of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia on the "Community" program, Tengiz Sigua, one of the opposition leaders and a former prime minister, declared that journalists had been told the precise date of the planned appearance. Moreover, Sigua asked to speak on central television immediately after to clarify several controversial matters.

We were naturally intrigued by this report and tried to obtain more details. We went to the government, which should have been the first to know about this, but our attempts proved futile. No one was able to give any intelligible reply. This makes it hard to regard opposition statements with a total lack of trust.

Interrepublic Affairs

More Servicemen Seeking Discharge

PM1111120791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Captain A. Vaklich report: "The Turkestan Military District. Ever Increasing Numbers of People Wanting To Be Discharged"]

[Text] The peculiar feature of the service of Turkestan Military District troops is in that the district covers the territory of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, which have declared their state sovereignty. Admittedly this fact has not yet influenced mutual relations between the republics and the district. The following alarming and disquieting words "Stay if you like, but you'll have to pay!" or even worse—"Occupiers, get out!", are not being directed against people in military uniform here, as they are in some places. According to Uzbekistan People's Deputy Lieutenant General A. Zakharov, deputy commander of the Turkestan Military District, the relationship between the local authorities and the region's population on the one hand and the servicemen on the other hand is favorable.

The Turkestan troops are actively helping sovkhozes and kolkhozes to gather the harvest. For their part, the latter have paid them back by providing them with vegetables, fruit, and meat products.

The mass media of the Central Asian republics as a rule do not publish items that cast a shadow over the Armed Forces. According to Colonel V. Tsilyugin, chief of one of the directorates of the district staff, the republics have started the draft campaign in an organized way. Thus, at first sight, there is no reason why the people serving in the Turkestan Military District should be alarmed about their future. However, describing the sociopolitical situation in the region, Lieutenant General A. Zakharov singled out several aspects, which, in his opinion, cannot fail to stand out.

First of all, how are relations developing between the district command and the ministries that are being formed in the republics to deal with defense matters? No less worrying is the problem of the republic parliaments' decisions on the creation of their own armed formations.

Unfortunately the cases of desertion have not decreased. One of the reasons for this is that the republics of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan have adopted laws according to which the military construction workers will not serve outside their republics. But it was not only the military construction workers who have made use of this "loophole," but often people who found service a burden too.

The swift processes of sovereignization and political instability are also affecting the interests of officers and warrant officers and members of their families. "What kind of motherland are we serving?" is the question most frequently on the lips of the officers who have signed applications for early discharge from the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces.

Commenting on the present situation regarding the staffing of military collectives with officer cadres, Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Firsakov, chief of a department of the the district cadre directorate, noted the following detail. It is mainly Turkestan Military District officers who are recommended for promotion who are appointed to vacant posts of commanders of companies and battalions. There are many officers in the district today who are no longer on the permanent staff; some of them will be discharged on the grounds of length of service or on the grounds of a staff reduction. Furthermore, it must be taken into consideration that the number of applications for urgent discharge from the army into the reserve have not decreased, particularly from officers who have come to the district from the Western Group of Forces. What is the reason for this? Instability in the region and harsh climatic conditions, particularly in the hot desert area where the outlying garrisons are located, are leaving their negative mark. The compensation for the remoteness and inconvenience of life there and the difficulties with settling the members of servicemen's families in jobs is paltry. Who can give an officer a guarantee that he will not be transferred to a new place of service on a year or two, for example from Uzbekistan to Turkmenistan, where he himself, his wife, and his child will have to study another language and the customs of another republic...

Nevertheless the existing problems have not become a stumbling block in the rhythmic pace of military training. According to Major General A. Sokolov, deputy commander of the district troops and chief of the district military training directorate, the large formations and units of the Turkestan Military District have fulfilled the main program of military training.

Kazakhstan

Transport Ministers Meet in Alma-Ata

LD1511060491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of ministers of transport of former Union republics opened in Alma-Ata today.

[Begin recording] [Reporter V. Antonov] Alma-Ata has again become the venue of yet another interrepublican meeting of great and vital importance. It is being held in the same hall where just over a month ago heads of republics met and later concluded a treaty on economic cooperation, now known as the Treaty of 10. Today representatives from all 15 republics gathered in this hall. They gathered in order to agree on preserving a

single transport system on the former Union's territory, from the Pacific to the Baltic shores.

[J. Verk, head of the Railway Transport Department of the Estonian Ministry of Transport] I think that transport links have always been and will remain, and they will be developed further. The fact that Estonia has acquired a certain degree of sovereignty does not mean that we have to disrupt transport links. They must develop.

[Antonov] Yes, life increasingly forces people to cast aside political ambitions and get down to practical matters. Transport is the basis of any economy, including a market one. Sovereignty itself does not provide food. From the very start, the majority of participants in the meeting spoke in favor of all 15 republics signing a document on cooperation in the sphere of transport. [end recording]

Clergyman Rejects Idea of Islamic Party

PM1511105991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Oleg Stefashin report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Muslim Clergy Does Not Want Islamic Party"]

[Text] Karaganda—Ratbek Nysanbayev, mufti of Kazakhstan's Muslims, has resolutely refused to support the idea of establishing an Islamic party in the republic.

Answering questions from the KAZREVYU news agency, he stated in particular that he condemned any actions that might breach the peace in Kazakhstan. At the same time it is perfectly obvious that if an Islamic party were established, the republic would certainly be swept by pan-Turkic ideas which could inflame hostility between the adherents of various religious convictions.

"There is no way this can be allowed," Ratbek Nysanbayev also remarked. "Ultimately there is one other thing we should not forget: Religion is an eternal law, but a party is nothing but a policy that changes every minute, and it is sinful when politicians want to exploit Islam to achieve their own narrow and ambitious aims."

Kyrgyzstan

President Views Prospects for Union Treaty

LD1411190291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Nov (TASS)—"The situation in the country today has changed radically, and I see the future union as a union of equal, independent, and sovereign states." Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, stated. "We have the chance to create a union on a fundamentally new basis—and there are no forces capable of preventing this in the way that they prevented the signing of the version of the treaty prepared for 20 August this year," he said in an interview broadcast today on Soviet radio.

In the opinion of the Kyrgyz president, today's meeting of the State Council will show what the prospects for signing the new union treaty are, and what fundamental principles lie at the basis of this treaty. The most important question is connected with what sort of union there will be: whether it will be a federative or confederative one or constructed on both principles, and whether perhaps some elements of community will be included in order to embrace the maximum number of former union republics. The structure of the whole treaty on the new union depends on this.

The second important question to be examined at the State Council, Askar Akayev said, is the question of the bodies that will service the Economic Community Treaty, which to date has already been signed by 10 republics. There will be discussion of the structure and of the leading bodies of the Interrepublic Economic Committee (IEC).

"The signing of the Economic Community Treaty," the president of Kyrgyzstan stressed, "is the first good harbinger of the integration of the economies of the former union republics, and I believe that this treaty will help to stabilize the economy of the country and next year lead to its improvement."

President Acts To Expedite Land Reform

PM1511094791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Aleksandr Ryabushkin: "President A. Akayev Decides To 'Push the Button'"]

[Text] Bishkek—President A. Akayev has issued a decree on urgent measures to ensure the implementation of Kyrgyzstan laws regulating land and other arrangements in agriculture. This "button-pressing" exercise is supposed to extricate the republic's land reform from the bureaucratic quagmire.

It is a familiar situation: The laws are there, but no one is implementing them. Moreover, the decree notes, certain political forces, motivated by personal interest, are resisting their implementation. Therefore, from next year loss-making and low-profitability sovkhozes [state farms] and other state agricultural enterprises will be eliminated, while kolkhozes [collective farms] in a similar situation will forfeit land. In this way it is planned to establish a stock of 1.5 million hectares of land before the spring field work. All this land wealth will be distributed to people.

The decree notes that peasant farms and agricultural cooperatives created on the basis of liquidated

sovkhozes and kolkhozes are not their successors in law and should not be responsible for their debts. The state, though, will establish a state order for the three years after that which will not exceed 60 percent of the products.

According to various observers, Akayev's decisive measures will certainly improve the economic situation, but they could also exacerbate the political situation and even interethnic relations.

Tajikistan

Republic To Keep Some Agricultural Products

LD1411132991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Tajikistan has decided to keep 30 percent of planned agricultural products from collective and state farms. Farms are allowed to sell those products at contractual prices, to use them as payment in kind, and to use them in barter deals.